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Continuing

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JANUARY, 1948

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The Social Studies

VOLUME XXXIX, NUMBER 1

JANUARY, 1948

Crisis in France: Charles de Gaulle versus the Communists

GEORGE W. KYTE

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The struggle between the Communists and the conservative parties in France has been quickened by the re-emergence upon the political scene of General Charles de Gaulle, one-time President of the French Republic. General de Gaulle, now 57 years of age, resigned from the presidency in January, 1946, disgusted by the political turmoil and the black-market-eering which had upset his plans for national economic recovery and reconstruction. He retired to his private estate, while a succession of short-lived cabinets wrestled with the various problems and difficulties which plagued France.¹

The first post-de Gaulle cabinet was headed by Félix Gouin, a Socialist, who tried to form a coalition of the various political parties, including Communists, Socialists, and rightist Popular Republicans. Gouin's coalition cabinet led a short and troubled existence, until, in June, 1946, it was replaced by a new administration headed by de Gaulle's onetime foreign minister, Georges Bidault, a leader of the Popular Republican Party. Bidault created a coali-

tion ministry which lasted only until the beginning of December, 1946. The breakup of the ministry took place amidst scenes of confusion and bitterness. The Popular Republicans accused the Communists of obstructing the carrying out of public business and the latter retorted with similar charges against the former. Postwar politics in France had reached a new low.

One of the primary political issues during 1946 was the formation of a new constitution, one which would be acceptable to the various political parties. The Communists desired a constitution which would provide for a weak executive branch of government. The Popular Republicans, on the other hand, desired a constitution which would provide for a strong executive power, thereby hoping for the establishment of governmental machinery which could act with vigor against strikes, mob violence, and demonstrations which might lead to mob violence. After a long and bitter battle, a constitution was promulgated; it was accepted by the French people in the national referendum of October, 1946.2 The constitution of the Fourth Republic was, and is, at best, an unhappy compromise which has satis-

¹ For a brief account of French politics from the presidency of General de Gaulle to the formation of the Ramadier ministry, see my article "Political Instability in Post-War France," THE SOCIAL STUDIES, XXXVIII (March, 1947), 122-125. For a revealing account of economic conditions in post-war France, see Frances Norene Ahl's "Post-War France," *Ibid.*, 100-102. Problems of reconstruction in France are ably discussed by J. F. Bell in his article "Problems of Economic Reconstruction in France," *Economic Geography*, XXII (January, 1946), 54-66. Further information on the problems of reconstruction is to be found in my article, "War Damage and Problems of Reconstruction in France, 1940-1945," *Pacific Historical Review*, XV (December, 1946), 417-426.

² For a discussion of the new constitution, see André Géraud, "The New French Constitution," Foreign Affairs, XXV (April, 1947), 433-450. See also Ernest J. Knapton, "The Fourth French Republic," Current History, XII (February, 1947), 123-127. For a brilliant analysis of the specialized problem of the nationalization of industry, the reader should consult David H. Pinkney, "Nationalization of Key Industries and Credit in France after the Liberation," Political Science Quarterly, LXII (September, 1947), 368-380.

fied no one. In particular, it has been attacked by General de Gaulle on the grounds that it is unworkable; de Gaulle has asserted that the executive branch of government as it is now established is too weak to function satisfactorily.

At the inception of the Fourth Republic, an effort was made to form a new coalition cabinet. The effort failed because of the bitter divergence of opinions and aims between the Communists and the Popular Republicans. Under the circumstances, it became necessary for Vincent Auriol, Socialist statesman and first president of the Fourth Republic, to ask the venerable Léon Blum to form an all-Socialist cabinet which was to function as a "housekeeping" or "stop-gap" ministry until a more permanent administration could be formed. The Blum administration carried out the public business of France for a few weeks until a Socialist leader, Paul Ramadier, was able to form a coalition ministry in January, 1947.

It was the hope of Messrs. Auriol, Blum and Ramadier that the new coalition of the several parties would result in a patriotic, non-partisan effort to reconstruct France and to restore her economy. Socialist ministers held several of the key portfolios, and they made a determined effort to act as friendly middlemen in bringing together the embittered parties of the "Left" and the "Right." Unfortunately, the ideal of a "patriotic union" of parties was not realized, though the failure was due to no lack of effort upon the part of the Socialist leaders. The Communists and Popular Republicans returned to their old tactics of embittered strife, and the resulting struggle in the cabinet became so violent that the public business could no longer be carried on.

A showdown between the Communists and the other members of the ministry became inevitable when the Communist ministers actively opposed Premier Ramadier's policy of stabilizing wages in order to call a halt to the rapid and alarming rise of prices. A series of strikes, including a nationwide railway strike, was called by the leaders of the labor unions. Ramadier asked for a vote of confidence in his policy of freezing wages. The Communists, including Communist members of the cabinet, voted against him. Nevertheless, Ramadier won

a vote of confidence by a margin of about two to one. He had no recourse, under the circumstances, but to drop the Communist members of the cabinet; their resignations were requested and received by President Auriol early in May, 1947.

The defection of the Communists destroyed any possibility of a "patriotic union" of parties under the leadership of the "neutral" Socialists. Party strife reached a new crescendo as the Communists, now clearly in opposition, attacked the policies of the Ramadier administration. The Communists did not limit themselves to propaganda attacks, for, within a few weeks after the resignation of the Communist ministers, France was swept by an almost unprecedented wave of strikes and threats of strikes. One of the most spectacular strikes was that which paralyzed the French railways for a number of days in June, 1947. Strikes or threats of strikes spread to numerous groups, including stevedores, electricians, warehousemen, and various classes of civil servants. The challenge was unmistakable; the Communists war upon the Ramadier were waging administration!

Ramadier, the apostle of compromise, of peaceful methods, of national unity, could hardly fight back effectively. Only strong measures could succeed against the Communists. The Ramadier cabinet was hardly in a position to apply such measures. Its only hope was to rally the parties of the "Right" and such "moderates" as were still left on the political scene in an effort to carry on some kind of administration despite the unrelenting resistance of the Communists. As it turned out, not all of the "Right" could be rallied to support the administration. General Charles de Gaulle, making a re-entry upon the political scene, denounced the Ramadier administration as being hopelessly ineffective, and called for all conservative and moderate elements in France to rally to a new party which was to be formed to combat Communism.

De Gaulle's appeal for the formation of a new political party was made in April, 1947. It was decided that the party would call itself the Rassemblement du peuple français (Reunion of the French People). The avowed object of the new party was to rally the French

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people for a crusade against Communism. Everyone who was willing to help combat Communism was welcome to join the movement. Presumably, if the movement gains sufficient strength, it will attempt to defeat the Communists in the forthcoming national elections of 1948, after which it will revamp the constitution, in order to provide for a strong executive branch of government. If the RPF has its way, de Gaulle will become the head of the government, and will exert every effort to check the Communists and to prevent strikes, demonstrations, and mob violence. The program of the RPF is the antithesis of the policy of concompromise advocated and ciliation Ramadier.

The strength of the RPF has been a subject for speculation until very recently. A test took place in October, 1947, during nation-wide municipal elections. RPF candidates polled about one-third of the votes cast. The Communists succeeded in gaining the support of some 29 per cent of the ballots, while the Popular Republicans, losing many of their supporters to the RPF, obtained the ballots of but ten per cent of the voters. The Socialists, advocates of conciliation, found that their candidates were supported by scarcely more than 14 per cent of the voters.

The meaning of the election results is reasonably clear. It is obvious that the French people despair of the success of Premier Ramadier's efforts to bring about a working compromise through mediation between the Commun-

ists and the several conservative parties. Instead, the French have reached the point where they are choosing sides, in preparation for a showdown in the national elections which are to be held in 1948.³

Whatever choice is made will have to be made between two extremes. The Communists, whose long-range aim is to create a Communist government in France, are committed to oppose, through strikes and other means, the success of the Marshall Plan for aid to Europe from the United States. The Communists have 1,000,000 party members and about 4,000,000 people friendly to their program upon whom they have been able to count for ballots during the elections of 1946 and 1947.4 General de Gaulle's RPF, which is committed to support the Marshall Plan and to oppose the Communists, is, momentarily, at least, supported by more voters than the Communists are able to muster. There are extremists on both sides who would be perfectly willing to use armed force to prevent the other group from gaining power, but it is to be hoped that the conflict between the two groups will be fought out with ballots rather than with bullets.

The Meaning and Interpretation of History

CHARLES WILLIAM HEATHCOTE

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There are many things and phases involved in the meaning of history. Investigations, research, and the careful analysis of writings have changed viewpoints and have resulted in placing history on a more scientific basis than ever before. Consequently, the sources of history are divided into two general classes, namely, the negative and positive.

Under the negative, the following may be

noted: (1) The Myth. In the background and in the early period of all very old civilizations, myths appear in large numbers. These myths are personifications of nature, gods, men and women in various and unusual relationships. A myth, therefore, is a story which takes a long time to develop and is added to from generation to generation. In the epic poems of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, there are many important

³ It is improbable that national elections will be held before the spring of 1948, but General de Gaulle has demanded in his recent speeches that national elections should be held before the end of 1947.

⁴ For an understanding of the influence which the Communists have among the laboring men of France, see Henry W. Ehrmann, "French Labor Goes Left," Foreign Affairs, XXV (April, 1947), 465-476, and Harold Callender. "How Strong Are the French Communists?" New York Times Magazine (May 18, 1947), pp. 8 and 61-63.

historical phases emphasized, but the pure history is lost because of the many myths interwoven into the poems. (2) The Fable. The story of Indian life in America teems with interesting fables. A fable is a fictional narrative which purports to convey a moral. Many of these stories of Indian life involve historical statements; others do not. They concern the culture hero; in some fables he is conceived of as doing something constructive for the benefit of the tribe, and in others, again, he may be a trickster. (3) Tradition. This is the more common form in which certain important data are preserved as relating to outstanding days, feasts, victories, ceremonies or things of a similar nature. There may be connected with this information certain myths or fables. The traditionary phase of history is handed down in the clan or tribe by word of mouth from father to son. In order to emphasize its importance, it is the human custom to exaggerate. This seems to be the common psychology of emphasis. Before writing became the established plan of recording events, oral tradition was the customary plan followed. After primitive people began to use signs, such as the hieroglyph, cuneiform or the distinctive pictograph form of transcription, tradition became less possible.

Since these sources of history are fundamentally negative in giving to the investigator reliable data in seeking to know what history is, then the next question is to find out what sources are reliable. The evidences which give data or materials which are factual and capable of standing every possible test to show the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, are positive sources. Such sources are *Primary Sources*. They constitute the foundation records which were made just as soon as possible after a certain event or events took place, by those who witnessed them or participated therein. These primary sources are of various types as follows:

(1) Buildings. For example, Independence Hall in Philadelphia is a shrine today because therein met the Continental Congress which decided upon the independence of the Thirteen States. The journals of the Congress tell us what took place there, and the building can be studied thoroughly relative to the events which did take place there. Here is reliable evidence thoroughly substantiated.

- (2) Proclamations. To read the wonderful Emancipation Proclamation prepared by Lincoln, gives the primary evidence necessary to understand a great landmark reached in the evolution of human liberty.
- (3) Letters. If they are not forgeries, letters constitute valuable data directly or as interesting side lights upon solving historical problems. For example, it would be difficult to forge letters of Washington or Lincoln because so many documents such as diaries and speeches are to be had in their own handwriting, which serve as a basis of counter checking.
- (4) Autobiography. Here is another interesting and vital phase of primary source material. If the writer has kept valuable notes throughout his life and has proved to be a keen observer and unprejudiced participant in the affairs of his time, his autobiography will prove to be of great value.

Therefore a careful study of these primary sources will form the fundamental basis to realize what history really is in its growth, development, evolution and the objectives involved.

Consequently the books used by the pupils as history texts or similar reference books are secondary sources and are developed from the primary materials. It is essential that each pupil can follow the text in an understanding and convincing way, which means that the book must be carefully, logically and sequentially organized. The teacher must be a patient and careful interpreter for the pupils in the elementary and secondary schools. Sometimes it is difficult to have some of the children realize that history is vital, inspirational and appealing. This condition is not the fault of the teacher but of the organization and development of the secondary source material.

There is so much valuable primary source material available in printed form in pamphlets and books, that even the most indifferent pupils cannot but help being interested in history. Through these materials, the pupils come to know, understand and experience the factors of history. What history really is becomes a growing and evolving process within the life history of each child. Pupils must first experience history before they can know what it is.

In the consideration of the social studies, history is the foundation of these studies. History is the record of a people as they have risen to the point of civilization attained. It may also be defined as the record of past deeds of mankind and of contemporary relations. As a science, history, as it is understood today, implies (1) organization; (2) testing; (3) adaptation, based on external and internal criticism and (4) usefulness. The teacher needs to know the course and resultants involved in these experiences, so that the young citizen shall be taught their functioning processes.

To follow the interpretative development of history, one must begin with the very first records, though primitive or incomplete they may be. The earliest records were produced on various materials, such as papyrus, used by the Egyptians or clay tablets, by the Assyrians and Babylonians. While some of the detail of early history can never be rewritten, nevertheless, we are adding year by year reliable data to our knowledge of reliable history of this period.

The first effort to set forth the systematic history of mankind came from Herodotus (484-425 B.C.), who is really the "father of history." He was an extensive traveler, having visited many of the important centers of the known inhabited world, and saw and observed things first hand. He does not develop a philosophy of history but he presents his statements in simplicity with a charm which inspires his readers, and a clarity of expression which shows that he knows what he is writing about. His work laid the foundations for future interpretation.

One of the first historians to develop his data and materials from careful research work was Thucydides, the Athenian writer and statesman. His great work was the writing of the history of the Peloponnesian War. He is the first of all early historians to realize the necessity of studying the primary sources. Here is where great interpretative value is found. Thucydides may be called the first of scientific historians.

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One of the most outstanding of all Roman historians is Cornelius Tacitus (A.D. 55-120). He was actively associated in the affairs of state and had access to important documents. These he used to good advantage in his writing.

After Christianity was made a state religion

of the Roman Empire by Constantine (288-337), it marked a new era in the relation of the church to the decadent empire. From this time on, a new phase of history is begun in the world. As the church became stronger in its position, it assumed more outstanding leadership in political affairs.

Later, under the fostering care of the Church, the universities in different parts of Europe grew and developed. From their teachings, arose new social, educational and religious forces which culminated in the Pre-Reformation and Reformation periods. The writers who agreed or disagreed with the church and its policies, discussed all subjects primarily from a philosophical or theological viewpoint. All culture was surcharged with religious principles. One of the writers during this period was John Wyclif (1324-1384), a great scholar of Oxford University, who boldly demanded broadened viewpoints in civil leadership. His translation of the Bible into the English language enlarged the scope of popular participation in all English affairs and hence changed the institutional life of his country. From this time on, we see developing an entirely different result in English history out of which Parliamentary government was to become supreme. The Reformation resulted in changed religious and educational conditions.

The new era which followed the Reformation was advanced by Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), who is rightly called the founder of modern international law. He laid the foundations for mutual understanding between peoples.

The writings of Montesquieu (1689-1755) and Rousseau (1712-1778) all pointed to a coming change in world affairs. Montesquieu stressed moderation and toleration in government. Rousseau emphasized that government is best served by serving the individuals of the state by mutual consideration.

The foundations for the scientific study and interpretation of history in the United States were laid by George Bancroft (1800-1891), Francis Parkman (1823-1893), and John Fiske (1842-1901). Bancroft's historical writing is marked by enthusiasm and careful editing, but frequently he is too general. Francis Parkman believed in careful research work so that historical interpretation would be free from loose

generalizations. John Fiske writes in a careful analytic style and the reader soon realizes that his appreciation of America's history is the result of scientific study.

Our present time is marked by careful study, research and investigation in all fields of science. This intensive and extensive study in the realm of history broadens and deepens our knowledge of the subject. However, the historian is required as the result of these researches to realize that a deeper responsibility rests upon his effort than ever before in the history of mankind. He finds that by our present means of transportation and communication all sections of the world are linked in close relationship. He knows that the people of all parts of the world are very close neighbors. These contacts must broaden national relations and deepen international relations. The historian must think of past history and contemporary life and all peoples related to these phases, in the spirit of appreciation, good will, toleration, sympathy and mutual understanding. History cannot be written or interpreted only in terms of politics, but in the broadened and deepened concepts of social, economic, political and religious life. The historian, in a word, must interpret the past sympathetically in order to appreciate his own time.

The teacher of history must enter into the spirit of history as the historian does. Though the teacher may not write history, nevertheless he must be a historian. He must have the sympathy, appreciation, enthusiasm and scientific viewpoint of the historian. A teacher thus equipped will understand history and will interpret it correctly.

Specialists in history have developed the ethical, religious, economic, militaristic, political, constitutional, and social institutional viewpoints which the teacher must understand and interpret. Interpretation of history is based upon primary source material and not upon opinions.

The teacher of history is not only an interpreter but an artist. He has the opportunity to mould the plastic minds of the boys and girls for useful citizenship, service, constructive attitudes and noble character. The interpretation of history by the teacher will determine the future status of the nation.

Detection and Counteraction of Propaganda

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Social studies teachers cannot develop the social intelligence of their pupils unless they themselves are socially intelligent. No teacher can deem himself or herself socially intelligent unless he or she understands the problem of propaganda. It is an acute problem, and the social studies teacher comes into contact with it almost daily. The importance of the matter cannot be minimized. Russia is making a great effort to propagandize its beliefs in its present ideological conflict with the United States. The detection and counteraction of propaganda is important to American citizens, and the socially intelligent teacher must be ready, willing and able to help in its detection and counteraction.

What is propaganda? Before World War I,

it was generally defined as the means by which one spread his opinion. Since then, the significance of the term has evolved and, in the modern sense, it means a traffic in half-truths or half-lies for selfish or dishonest ends. The detection of propaganda is difficult for the unintelligent or uneducated person. Too often the educated are duped and become victims of clever propaganda. Three questions can be used as criteria in the detection of propaganda. They are: (1) what is the source? (2) is the whole picture being shown? (3) is the material opinionated?

If each individual questioned all material presented to him in such a manner as that stated above, propaganda's usefulness would be at a minimum. An inert public is often

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ial nat uld ten victimized. The source of material is most important in trying to understand this problem. Certainly the NAM or the Chamber of Commerce would not play up the CIO in their publications. A report from the CIO, on the other hand, wouldn't tell of the virtues of the NAM or the Chamber of Commerce. An intelligent person realizes this and does not necessarily accept one side's viewpoint as factual truth. This leads to the second question: Is the whole picture being shown? If not, do not accept it as truth until after investigating all aspects of it. It is fairly simple to slant news or facts by playing up one part and playing down another.

Opinionated material, too, is often propaganda. For example, Harold J. Laski's articles emphasize the shortcomings of capitalism and lionize socialism. The reason for this, of course, is that he is a Socialist. His publications are good, and much of his material is authentic, but one must remember that Laski has an axe to grind.

Education plays an important role in counteracting propaganda. A truly educated person is not too susceptible to half-truths. He is able to understand the whole story and therefore is in a position to reject propaganda and to accept the truth. Counter-propaganda is often used to counteract propaganda. If the NAM prints an article containing half-truths about labor conditions, the labor unions often counter the report with one of their own. Recently the NAM ran a series of ads in an attempt to discount a CIO economic report. The educated person should be able to draw his own conclusions after he has read and understood both the propaganda and the counterpropaganda.

Every pressure group employs techniques of propaganda. Such groups try to influence human action by manipulating the facts. "In every city hall, and in every state and national capitol, congeries of propaganda organizations and agents speaking for every conceivable vested interest or general sentiment swarm about legislative and administrative organs." The federal government has attempted to control

these groups by forcing all lobbyists to register. They must state whom they represent, and also must specify the amount of money they receive for their services. This is another method of counteracting propaganda. The best way, of course, is to have a well-informed and socially intelligent public. Development of the individual who can detect propaganda is the best insurance to counteract propaganda. That is where the teacher comes in.

Education and propaganda are both concerned with affecting ideas, attitudes and abilities. The difference between the two, lies in the emphasis. Education does not attempt to indoctrinate: it gives facts and allows the individual to come to his own conclusion on the basis of those facts. The propagandist wants particular action, usually immediate, that will serve his special group. Educators approach the problem intellectually and present all the facts. They should be impartial and as impersonal as humanly possible. The propagandists will stoop to any level to put over their point. Emotions and prejudices are often played upon by the use of catch phrases and symbols. Propagandists distort and exaggerate facts; they repeat those distortions and exaggerations until they are accepted as truth.

Both the secondary schools and the colleges should make every attempt to develop the social intelligence of their students. This is impossible if the instructors themselves do not understand the causes of the conditions prevailing in the world. Schools should not only dispense knowledge, but they should also make the student aware of social problems. Awareness, too, is not enough, but it is a good first step. Students who are aware of the problems, and who are socially intelligent, are able to reject propaganda and accept only the truth. Adult education should not be neglected. Education does not stop at formal schooling; it continues until death. Each of us should be aware, and should beware of propaganda; we should strive for the ideal of the acceptance of only the whole truth.

¹ H. D. Lasswell, in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, XII, p. 522.

What Should We Do with Our Criminals?

HOMER T. ROSENBERGER

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What should we do with our criminals? This problem has been a perplexing one for many centuries. During the last 150 years, our attitude toward, and methods of, dealing with offenders have changed as much as have our ideas of educating youth.

THEORIES AND OBJECTIVES OF PUNISHMENT FOR CRIMINALS

Down through the years four main theories concerning the punishment for criminals have been expounded. One theory holds for its objective the bringing about of repentance; another, the exaction of retribution; a third, the deterring of others from committing crime; and a fourth, a reformation of the offender. These four theories are not mutually exclusive.

(1) To Bring About Repentance. In Biblical times, and in the Middle Ages, it was felt that actual repentance for one's wrongdoing was a necessary requirement. This repentance called for "a change of heart," a confession by the offender that he had erred, and that he was sorry for what he had done. Repentance, as a punishment, virtually called for humiliation of the offender, and for his complete feeling of guilt for the crime committed. It was felt that the penitent soul was fully apprised of the harm he had done, and that because of his repentance, he would endeavor to live an exemplary life in the future, so as to redeem, in part, his tarnished name and make amends to society for the wrongs he had inflicted on others.

The word "penitentiary" itself is derived from the word "penitence." From the old theories of penitence for crime, arose the cell prison, where the isolated offender could reflect on his crimes and become repentant.

From 1773 to 1790, John Howard, the English prison reformer, advocated the cell prison. At about the same time, the Quakers advocated solitary confinement for criminals, so that they could reflect upon their deeds and have a change of heart, as well as be segregated from other

criminals in order that hardened offenders would not have an opportunity to contaminate further other prisoners. These incidents indicate that until comparatively recent times, considerable weight has been given to the repentance theory of punishment for criminals. Today, however, it is not stressed to any great extent.

(2) To Exact Retribution. From ancient times until relatively recent years, the theory of punishment for criminals which called for the exaction of retribution was commonly put into use. Under this theory, vengeance was inflicted on the offender. It was inflicted with the thought of dealing out justice to one who deserved punishment. The purpose of inflicting the punishment was to make the offender pay for his wrong, to balance the harm done by him. Under this theory, in past times, the criminal's intention, as well as his deeds, was sometimes taken into consideration when punishment was prescribed. This, of course, frequently resulted in gross injustice, as it was impossible in many instances to determine another person's inten-

(3) To Deter Others. For several centuries, the theory of punishment for criminals which called for methods that would deter others from committing crime was used. Under this theory the attempt was made, literally, to frighten people into being law-abiding citizens.

Severe penalties were used, not for vindictive reasons, but with the purpose of deterring or intimidating or frightening others from committing offenses against the public. The purpose of deterrent punishment is to secure protection for the public through intimidating the rank and file from committing offenses. On numerous occasions, the proponents of this theory felt that it mattered not how severe or unjust the punishment might be, for the protection of all members of society was at stake. As a result, many barbarous punishments were meted out, and the quality of justice occasionally reached a low ebb.

The deterrent theory of punishment proved to be a complete failure and is not generally expounded today. Since only a small percentage of the law violators are ever sentenced, the severe punishment of those who are, is not likely to have much effect on the large percentage who feel they are clever enough to avoid detection. Furthermore, many individuals stoop to crime gradually through a series of minor, but increasingly serious, acts and in the process become hardened to the thought of penalties.

(4) To Reform the Offender. The theory of punishment for criminals which is in wide use today calls for the reformation of the offender.

Under this theory of punishment, the object is, as under the repentance theory, to make a new person out of the offender—a good person, a person who will live a decent, respectable, law-abiding life in the future. Under this theory, the public has, as its objective, the reformation and the rehabilitation of each criminal sentenced by the court.

Instead of merely threatening the criminal who has not been apprehended by severely punishing the one who has, the advocates of the reform theory desire to show the offender the error of his ways and to help him understand his obligations to the public. They do not expect him to be penitent, but they do expect him to have a will to assume his share of responsibility as a citizen upon his release from prison.

The proponents of the reform theory point out that it requires that prisoners, whether confined to institutions or punished in another manner, receive individual treatment.

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EARLY METHODS OF PUNISHING CRIMINALS

The Egyptians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans of ancient times resorted to death and torture as punishment for crime. The Anglo-Saxons of the Middle Ages resorted much to capital and corporal punishment and little to imprisonment as a method of punishment for major crimes. Before imprisonment became widely used as a form of punishment for crime, persons were punished by humiliation and banishment, as well as by death and torture.

Horrible methods were used in inflicting the death penalty. Persons were burned, hanged,



From N. K. Teeters, They Were in Prison

JOHN HOWARD, ENGLISH PRISON REFORMER

John Howard was a man of much courage and humility, and devoted almost forty years of his life to the improvement of prisons. He was born in 1726 and died in 1790. He made four detailed inspections of British prisons, visited many jails in other countries, and wrote a significant book, The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, which he published in 1777. This book led to several reforms.

drawn and quartered, drowned, thrown to wild beasts, boiled, and poisoned. Joan of Arc, for instance, was burned at the stake as a heretic. Torture, as a punishment for offenders, took many forms. The cutting off of hands, noses, ears and other parts of the body and branding faces with hot irons were some of the forms of torture which were used. Offenders were flogged from ancient times until recent years.

During colonial times in America, the stocks and pillory and the ducking stool were forms of humiliating punishment. The offender was punished in full view of all who passed by.

In the Middle Ages, banishment or outlawry was a common way to punish those accused of crime. Outlaws took refuge in forests, as did Robin Hood, the legendary English outlaw of the Middle Ages.

Soon after the beginning of the seventeenth century, many criminals were banished by being transported from England to America. This form of punishment was continued even after the development of the prison system. After 1776, England transported convicts to Australia. In 1791, France ordered that all persons convicted of a felony a second time should be transported to a penal colony. The plan, however, was not put into effect until 1854. France maintained two penal colonies, one in Africa and one in the South Pacific, to which it banished criminals. Russia banished criminals to Siberia.

In modern times, the world has become more humanitarian, in some ways, in the handling of criminals.

In the last 100 years, with the development of prison systems, all punishment for crime except the death penalty, imprisonment, and fines had been eliminated. The death penalty has been restricted almost entirely to the offense of murder. Throughout the entire United States about 200 persons per year pay the death penalty for committing crime.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PRISONS

Prisons were used as places of seclusion and detention from ancient times, but until about 300 years ago they were used mainly for the confinement of political prisoners, rather than for the confinement of criminals. Persons who were looked upon with disfavor by the government in power were thrust into the early prisons. Persons were committed to jails to await trial or torture or for the extortion of confessions.

Vindictive tactics were used on criminals in the seventeenth century. Many were executed, tortured or banished. Those who were confined in prisons usually lived in filth and were treated brutally.

It was not until the eighteenth century that prisons were generally used as places for the punishment of criminals. Even at the beginning of the eighteenth century, imprisonment was scarcely used in Europe and America except for the confinement of political and religious offenders, and also of debtors. During that century there was a shift from corporal punishment to imprisonment as a means of dealing with offenders. By 1850, imprisonment had become the usual method of dealing with offenders in both Europe and America.

A prison reform movement began in the latter half of the eighteenth century through the work of Beccaria in Italy, and John Howard, Sir William Blackstone and Jeremy Bentham in England. The movement resulted in the removal of a number of brutal methods and the introduction of many constructive ones in prison administration.

In 1764, Beccaria, an Italian economist and jurist, wrote an essay entitled *Treatise on Crimes and Punishment*. It was one of the first arguments against capital punishment and against the inhuman treatment of criminals. In the essay, he stressed that crime must be considered as an injury to society, that criminals must be punished to deter others from committing crime, that imprisonment should be used more widely, that prison quarters should be improved, and that prisoners should be segregated on the basis of age, sex and the status of their criminal record. The essay had a tremendous influence on the people of Beccaria's day and on succeeding generations.

John Howard of England was active in prison reform from 1754 to the time of his death in 1791. He made four detailed inspections of British prisons and visited many foreign jails. His book, The State of Prisons in England and Wales, published in 1777, gave a description of each prison in England and Wales. It concludes with the inference that the English prisons of his day were vehicles for the destruction of young delinquents rather than vehicles of reformation. This volume resulted in prison reform in England and in America. Sir William Blackstone, the English jurist who wrote the famous Commentaries on the Laws of England, assisted John Howard in his reforms prior to 1780.

Jeremy Bentham, the English philosopher (1748-1832), proposed plans for the inspection of convicts; he recommended that penalties be prescribed which would subject an offender to an amount of punishment just in excess of the profit the offender might derive from violating the law. Bentham believed that this unfavorable balance would deter people from committing crimes. The theory spread throughout Europe.

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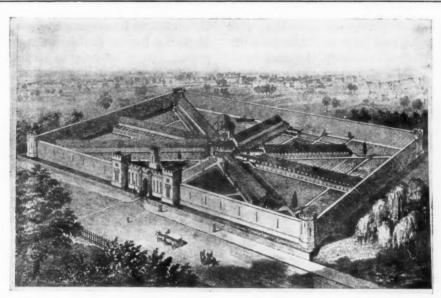
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From N. K. Teeters, They Were in Prison

EASTERN STATE PENITENTIARY, PHILADELPHIA PENNSYLVANIA

The cornerstone was laid May 22, 1823; the first prisoner was admitted October 25, 1829. This penitentiary was unique, as it represented an unusual type of architecture and penal philosophy, in short, the separation of prisoners from each other, a system which is little used today. The above sketch shows the arrangement of the seven cell blocks radiating from a common center, like the spokes of a wheel from their hub. John Haviland of Philadelphia was the architect. Through the design and erection of this prison, he exerted much influence on penology for a century. Eastern State Penitentiary is still in use.

vania instituted prison reform, which resulted in what came to be known as the "Pennsylvania System" of prison administration. This system called for the solitary confinement of each inmate and for the opportunity of each to spend time in work and reflection.

At the Auburn State Prison at Auburn, New York, about 1823, a different system of prison administration was evolved; this has come to be known as the "Auburn System." This system calls for the employment of prisoners in groups in manufacturing enterprises, but in absolute silence during the time they were assembled to work and eat. The theory of this system is that work is rehabilitative, and that silence would prevent the contamination of the first offender by hardened criminals beside whom he might be working. Practically all of the large prisons in the United States today follow a modification of the Auburn System.

Prison reformers for years had felt that the theories of punishment based on retribution and the deterring of others were false and did not result in protection to the public. These reformers believed that various types of prisoners should be segregated, should receive individual treatment, and that their period of imprisonment should be in proportion to their progress toward reformation. A New York law of 1869 authorized the creation of a penal institution at Elmira, New York, for young offenders, where the duration of an inmate's sentence would at least partly depend upon the progress he made toward reformation. This institution, the Elmira Reformatory, was opened in 1877. It was a step forward in prison administration, and the plan put into effect some of the ideas of the advanced thinkers in the field of penology.

The Elmira Reformatory was the first institution of its kind and it attracted international notice. It was opened only to young offenders and provided educational opportunities, as well as individual treatment for each inmate. It was the forerunner of the present-day reformatory which is found throughout the United States.

Today, American prisons, in general, show many great advances in physical plant and atmosphere when compared with the average prison in Europe, England or America in the 1700's and early 1800's. The American prison

system consists of the local lock-up or the police station, the county and city jail, the state industrial school and reformatory, the state penitentiary, and the federal penal and correctional institutions.

WHAT THE PRISON IS TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH TODAY

The prison of today is attempting to develop into useful citizens the criminals who are sentenced to a term of confinement. To accomplish this, attempts are made to improve the physical and mental health of its inmates, to improve their attitudes, and to prepare them to earn an honest living.

- (1) Improvement of Physical and Mental Health. Prisoners are treated by physicians, psychiatrists and psychologists. Hospitals containing the most up-to-date surgical and dental equipment may be found in federal penal and correctional institutions and in the larger institutions operated by each state. Sanitary living quarters and a balanced diet are furnished each inmate. Outdoor physical recreation such as softball, basketball and touch football is provided in most institutions.
- (2) Improvement of Attitudes. The prison of today is trying to teach those who are antisocial to assume community responsibilities. To do this, prison administrators require that prisoners live together and work together, rather than live in solitary confinement as was the case under the old Pennsylvania System. A typical federal prison enforces a type of discipline designed to adjust each prisoner to an understanding and acceptance of the required social code of ethics. Prisons hold their inmates responsible for personal hygiene and for good housekeeping habits in their living quarters. Some institutions encourage various forms of self-government.

Educational activities are sponsored in almost all present-day prisons. These activities are a powerful influence in improving attitudes of prisoners. The illiterate offender who learns to read his mail and reply to it, and the offender who is permitted the opportunity to receive instruction in the field of his interest and to browse through a well-stocked library, can scarcely avoid an improvement in his attitudes.

Work is a salutary influence under almost all conditions. It is especially so among prisoners.

In many instances a criminal does not learn to do an honest day's work until he comes to prison. Here he may experience for the first time the satisfaction of performing a necessary service. This experience frequently results in a desire to earn an honest living and to compromise any difficulties he may have with his family and his home community.

(3) Preparation for a Job. The work program of the prison of today is arranged in such a way that the cost of operating the institution is kept to a minimum, and also that inmates get experience in a number of jobs. They can become carpenters, auto mechanics, plumbers. cooks, bakers, and office clerks. On the job and in classroom or shops, the inmates receive vocational training and related training in mathematics, science, safety, and the like. Prison officials have contacts with employers, employment agencies and social service organizations; they try to secure employment for inmates upon their release from an institution. During the past 15 years, through a period of an oversupply, and a period of a shortage, of labor, prisons have been fairly successful in securing civilian employment for their inmates when they are released. Many are prepared for specific jobs.

THE IDEA OF INDIVIDUAL TREATMENT

Prisons are now using almost every branch of science in the reformation of criminals. Medicine, psychiatry, psychology, education and vocational training—each is playing its part. In most instances, science is applied not to the inmates in an institution as a group, but to each prisoner as an individual. This feature has made the treatment of inmates in modern prisons an individualized program.

Criminals are of different types, age and sex; therefore, it is necessary to give each prisoner individualized treatment. This includes the assignment to a proper type of institution, to proper quarters within an institution, and to special medical, educational, and other services. Under this procedure, prisoners are classified and segregated by groups. Juvenile delinquents are sent to an industrial school or reformatory; hardened criminals are placed in a penitentiary. Middle-aged first offenders may be sent to still another type of institution, and a hardened criminal, who has served a part of his sentence

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and has shown marked progress toward reformation, may be transferred to an institution designed for tractable prisoners.

Treatment is provided on the basis of case studies of each prisoner. Educational activities, work assignments, and vocational training are planned for every inmate, since each one has a different background and different interests and abilities than the others.

The success achieved in the Federal Prison System has been accomplished largely through the development of a program which gives individual treatment to each inmate. This program is accomplished through the cooperation of the departments found within an institution.

When a person is charged with the violation of a federal law, he is apprehended, indicted, convicted, and sentenced. He is brought to prison by a United States marshal after some weeks of confinement in a local jail. He takes a bath; he is given a medical examination; and he receives clean clothes. He surrenders the clothing and property which he brings with him, and they are sent to his home, unless he desires other disposition of them. Any money he may have is placed to his credit, subject to limited use for purchase, through the institution commissary, of certain extras not furnished by the prison; any unexpended balance is returned to him upon his release. The prisoner is placed in "quarantine" for 30 days, during which time he receives no visits, except from prison officials; he may not write letters and he may receive letters only from his closest relatives. During this quarantine period, a thoroughgoing examination is made of his physical, mental, and moral self. He receives a meticulous medical examination. If he needs an operation, he is listed for surgery. He is inoculated for smallpox and for typhoid fever. The dentist checks his teeth, and arrangements are made to fill any cavities.

The psychiatrist studies and inventories the mentality, personality, and characteristics of each prisoner. Case workers question him and make a check-up of his entire adult life, including his attitude toward his family. The educational employees test and rate him in regard to educational attainments. The librarian gives him advice about reading matter, as well as instructions in the use of the library. The chap-

lain discusses his spiritual needs. He receives instruction regarding institutional rules and procedures.

All the information that is learned about the prisoner by prison officials during the 30-day quarantine is incorporated into a case history which is considered by the Classification Committee. This committee is made up of representatives of different departments of the institution. The committee determines the degree of custody of the inmate and plans his institutional program for him. The rehabilitative features begin to operate. He moves out of quarantine into regular quarters, living and working with other inmates. From time to time, various officials interview him, check on his progress, recommend changes of educational activities, make work assignments, and the like. Individualized treatment is given to the prisoner from the time he enters the institution until he leaves. It is through the individualized approach that an inmate can be made to feel that he, as an individual, is an important unit in society.

A COORDINATED PROGRAM FOR THE TREATMENT OF CRIMINALS

A coordinated program for the treatment of criminals includes institutional confinement, probation, and parole. Imprisonment is not the best method of handling offenders, but in many instances it is the best that is known. In addition to imprisonment, or institutional confinement, in recent years two additional methods of dealing with offenders have been used extensively throughout the United States; these are known as probation and parole.

(1) Institutional Confinement. In order to give adequate protection to the public, it is necessary to imprison certain offenders. Among these are vicious criminals. Offenders who are in need of certain types of physical and mental treatment must also be confined in institutions. Still another group of offenders must be placed in institutions because, in order to reform them, it is necessary to subject them to institutional discipline and group living under rather closely controlled conditions.

In the modern treatment of criminals, various incentives are used to motivate those who are in prison. Important among these incentives employed by the Federal Prison System is

the granting of "statutory good time." This consists of crediting an inmate with a certain number of days each month for good behavior, and automatically subtracting this time from his period of sentence. In addition to statutory good time, "industrial good time" and "camp good time" are granted for outstanding work and conduct records on industrial assignments, on farms, and in honor camps.

(2) Probation. Probation is a measure of control over individuals convicted of crime. It is also a method of treating offenders on an individual basis. Probation is particularly applicable to first offenders who are not vicious. Under this method of treatment the court permits the offender to remain at liberty as long as he lives up to certain conditions prescribed by the court. In other words, after he is sentenced, he is released "on probation." The court may order such juvenile offenders to attend school regularly, to come home early at night, to abstain from the use of tobacco and liquor, to avoid poolrooms, and to report to a probation officer each month during the period

of sentence. An adult offender may be required to support his family, to abstain from the use of liquor, to avoid questionable places, to keep out of debt, to report to a probation officer each week, and to leave his community only with the permission of the probation officer.

When juvenile or adult probationers violate the conditions imposed by the court, they may be confined in an institution to serve the remainder of their sentence. Probation has proved to be an effective method of treatment in numerous cases.

(3) Parole. Parole provides for the release of a prisoner prior to the completion of his sentence. Parole is granted by the states and by the federal government. It is given as a recognition of the belief that an inmate has the ability to adjust himself to the outside world under supervision. If the parolee violates the conditions under which he is released or paroled, he is returned to the institution to serve the remainder of his sentence. Parole, as a method of treatment has worked successfully.

Benjamin Franklin, Father of American Ingenuity, 1706–1790

JOHN P. DIX

East High School, Kansas City, Missouri

Benjamin Franklin made enough money as a writer, printer and businessman to retire from business at the age of 42. He gave the rest of his life to the service and development of his country, probably influencing life in early America more than any other one man. Franklin became famous for his achievements as editor, humorist, inventor, diplomat, satirist, philosopher, scientist, publisher, and friendly leader for unity and common sense. His influence on the common people and among nations was remarkable. He was the only person who signed all four of these great documents: the Declaration of Independence, the Treaty of Alliance with France, the Treaty of Peace with England, and the Constitution of the United States.

Let us take a glance at the 17-year-old Benjamin Franklin, who ran away to Philadelphia,

when he and his brother, James, could not agree. To satisfy his hunger, after his arrival there, he spent three of his precious pennies for three large loaves of bread. Franklin describes his first visit to Philadelphia in the following way:

—walked off with a roll under each arm and eating another. Thus I went up Market street as far as Fourth street, passing by the door of Mr. Reed, my future wife's father, and when she, standing by the door, saw me, and thought I made, as I certainly did, a most awkward, ridiculous appearance. Then I went down Chestnut street and part of Walnut street, eating my roll all the way, and coming around, found myself again at Market street wharf, near the boat I came in, to which I went for a draft of water; and, being filled with one of my rolls, gave the

other two to a woman and her child that came down to the river in the boat with us, and were waiting to go further.

Thus refreshed, I walked again up the street, which by this time had many cleandrest people in it, who were all walking the same way. I joined them, and thereby was led into the meeting-house of the Quakers near the market. I sat down among them, and after looking around awhile and hearing nothing said, being very drowsy through labor and want of rest the preceding night, I fell fast asleep, and continued so till the meeting broke up, when one was kind enough to rouse me. This was, therefore, the first house I was in, or slept in, in Philadelphia.

Can't you just see Young Ben Franklin—matter-of-fact, whimsical, and practical? He was on his own and on his way at 17 years of age.

In 1739, Benjamin Franklin married Deborah Reed, who had laughed at 17-year-old Ben's "awkward and ridiculous appearance" when he had first arrived in Philadelphia. Who knows what influence that laugh may have had on the penniless, homeless, and friendless lad, who had come to a strange city to seek his fortune? In any case, he achieved a place in the business, social, and public life in the City of Brotherly Love, in his country, and in the world of his day.

Franklin's Youth and Ingenuity. How did this young American raise himself from obscurity and poverty to fame and fortune? Franklin, who was the fifteenth child in a family of 17 children, was born in Boston. His father wanted him to become a minister and sent him to school at an early age. But the training proved too costly for his family, and Benjamin worked for a time with his father, who was a candle-maker. Young Franklin's early interest was in boating, swimming, and the sea; but his father apprenticed him at 12 years of age to his brother, James, who was a printer.

Benjamin Franklin became skilled as a printer and writer. Because he felt that his brother, James, would not accept any work he might submit under his own name, Ben wrote under the name of "Mrs. Silence Dogood" and slipped his writings under the door of the print shop. James printed Ben's satirical and entertaining

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writings until he discovered they were his young brother's.

Young Ben began reading the Bible at the age of five, and *Pilgrim's Progress*, in his early teens. He also perused every book he could obtain. To save money with which to buy books, he became a vegetarian. He taught himself navigation, grammar, mathematics, and writing. Some of his liberal writings brought criticism to his brother's New England Courant, the weekly newspaper in which Benjamin's articles had appeared. The ill feeling between him and James reached a breaking point, and young Ben left for New York. Unable to find work there, Franklin made his way to Philadelphia, where he started to work for a German-Jew by the name of Keimer, who came to depend on the 17-year lad to manage his printing business.

His schedule and work were rigid. He did not wait for someone else to interest or prod him. Franklin set aside pleasures and leisuretime activities. He studied constantly and spent hours preparing and broadening himself for the future. Books were a privilege; work was an opportunity. Time—and money—were precious. The writer wonders if education and opportunity are not too cheap and extensive to be appreciated by many adolescent youth today. Perhaps modern youth would study and work harder if his education cost him a little more, or if there were fewer opportunities. Isn't it true that many young people are "babying" or "coddling" themselves? Franklin made the most of his chances. Aren't we mature when we cease to blame parents, teachers, and conditions-and work to overcome difficulties and get ahead?

Governor Keith of Pennsylvania took an interest in the young Franklin, and proposed that he go into business, but Franklin's father refused financial assistance. Then Keith suggested that he go to England. The governor promised financial assistance and a letter or draft to cover expenses, but he failed to follow through with it. Arriving penniless in England, Benjamin obtained work as a printer. After spending 18 months in London, he returned to Philadelphia and became chief clerk in the store of Mr. Denham, whom he had met on his voyage. On the death of Mr. Denham, young

Benjamin returned to Keimer as manager of his printing business. Later, he formed a partnership, and, in 1729, he became the sole owner of *The Pennsylvania Gazette*.

His Early Success and Influence. In 1732 Franklin, under the name of Richard Saunders, started Poor Richard's Almanac. This publication reached a sale of 10,000 copies annually, and continued for 25 years to exert its influence on right living and habits of thrift. The Almanac and the Bible appeared in almost all early American homes. The sayings of the Almanac were witty and appealing to the common people. Franklin presented brief and unique statements of the wisdom and truth which have appeared through the ages. People looked forward to the homespun and downto-earth philosophy which seemed to fill a need for them in Colonial America. They quoted, discussed, enjoyed, and followed "Poor Richard."

A FEW QUOTATIONS FROM FRANKLIN

We must all hang together or assuredly we shall all hang separately.

A penny saved is a penny earned.

A word to the wise is sufficient.

Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise.

A little neglect may breed a great mischief—for want of a shoe the horse was lost, and for want of a horse the rider was lost, being overtaken and slain by the enemy, all for want of a horseshoe nail.

God helps them that help themselves.

A man may, if he knows not how to save as he gets, keep his nose all his life to the grindstone, and die not worth a groat at last.

An innocent plowman is more worthy than a vicious prince.

Little strokes fell great oaks.

An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

In the midst of depression, Franklin worked to improve conditions. He continued to write on duty, truth, thrift, industry, honesty, and other civic virtues. His writings were the gleanings of all ages—the deepest truths expressed in the fewest words. Did you realize that these quotations, which no doubt you have heard, are those of Benjamin Franklin in eighteenth century America?

Franklin formed a club, "The Junto," which met on Friday evenings, and continued for 40 years to meet to discuss questions concerning morality, philosophy, and politics. The "American Philosophical Society," formed in 1744, was probably an outgrowth of the "Junto." The "Library Company of Philadelphia," a circulating library movement, was formed in 1742.

In 1736, Franklin was chosen unanimously as clerk of the Pennsylvania assembly. He served there ten years. Continuing his public and political career, he was appointed, by the British government, Deputy Postmaster at Philadelphia. Later he became Postmaster General of the United Colonies, and reorganized the postal service on an efficient basis. In 1738, he organized a police force and a fire department for Philadelphia, and procured the paving of its streets. In 1748, he had more time for public service, since he took David Hall into partnership in the printing business.

We should appreciate this great American's contributions to the development and progress of our community life and culture. There is hardly any worthwhile improvement in the modern community, which Franklin did not foresee, and in most instances, try to do something about. Among other things, he led in getting subscriptions for the first hospital in the state of Pennsylvania. Through his efforts, the Pennsylvania Academy, which he founded, ultimately became the University of Pennsylvania. He furthered street lighting. Franklin had great faith in a better future, and he certainly helped to build that future. His regret was that he could not live for another hundred years, in order to see and enjoy the inventions and developments which he knew would materialize.

Franklin's versatility and mastery of many subjects and skills were amazing. His writings during the Revolution were satirical, clever, and influential—particularly those of the imaginary German officer's letters to a Hessian who was fighting against the colonists. He was cynical of kings, courts, pomp, and ceremony. His pen did much to expose to ridicule some of the abuses and foolish customs of princes and potentates. Benjamin Franklin scoffed at "blue bloods," and elevated the status, and caused the recognition of, the common man.

His Scientific Achievements. Franklin's experiment in 1754, which showed that lightning and electricity are the same thing, proved his ingenuity and practical reasoning. Someone described his experiment in the following way:

To his silk kite he fastened a small iron rod; to the kite and rod he tied a hempen string; to the lower end of the string he tied a silken cord to protect his hand from the electricity; and to the string he tied a key. During a storm he flew the kite. The loose fibers on the hempen string moved and when Franklin placed his hand close to the key, sparks flew. Thus the identity of the electric fluid with lightning was established. Franklin received fame and recognition throughout the world for this discovery. Universities conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, and the Royal Society made him a Fellow.

He noted that the phenomenon of the Leyden jar was explained by the positive and negative states of electricity. His invention of lightning conductors was a practical application of the use of his discovery in preventing its danger to mankind. Other inventions included the following: the first copper plate press in America, the improved fireplace, bifocal glasses, and other worthwhile things. He did research work in the study of weather and geography. Most biographers of Franklin feel that his discoveries were his greatest achievements. His scientific writings were translated into foreign languages. He made investigations and observations as to the causes of diseases by poorly ventilated rooms and other unhealthful conditions.

Franklin's scientific and inventive genius was astounding. With practically no formal schooling, this remarkable young man displayed creative and monumental ability. His work amazed intellectuals and common people alike. Once he told a group of famous people that he would calm the waters of a raging stream. This he seemed to do by uttering a magic formula. His audience of skeptics was spellbound with admiration and wonder. With the customary twinkle in his eye, Franklin told a friend that almost every problem could be solved if one knew how to go about it. And he admitted that he had calmed the waters by scattering oil,

from the end of his cane, into the stream. Benjamin Franklin possessed outstanding ingenuity and industry for finding, or working out, the know-how.

Franklin's Colonial Leadership. In 1754, Franklin's Albany Plan of Union was presented to work out unity in the colonies. Representatives from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, met at Albany in June. They considered buying lands from the Iroquois and laying out new colonies. Franklin desired to unify the colonies by sending two to seven representatives to a Grand Council which would have the power to make laws, levy taxes, raise troops, regulate trade, and promote friendly relations between the Indians and the colonies. Instead of accepting the Albany plan, the Assemblies rejected it. The British government sent General Braddock with two regiments which the colonists were expected to maintain.

Perhaps the Revolutionary War could have been avoided if England had accepted the Albany Plan of Union. In Franklin's opinion the refusal to accept his plan of union was a mistake. "But such mistakes," he said, "are not new; history is full of the errors of states and princes. Those who govern, having much business on their hands, do not generally like to take the trouble of considering and carrying into execution new projects. The best public measures are therefore seldom adopted from previous wisdom, but forced for the occasion." He was taking things philosophically and biding his time. Franklin lived to see his dreams for union launched into the new government under the Constitution of the United States.

Besides submitting the Albany plan for union in the French and Indian War, Franklin became a colonel of the Philadelphia militia, raised volunteers, paid for supplies, and gave leadership. He went to England in 1757, as a representative of the Pennsylvania assembly, to help settle disputes between the colony and its proprietors. The Penns were persuaded to give up their claim of exemption from taxation, and were required to pay their share of taxes. His defense of the colonies before a committee of the House of Commons was memorable. He answered questions definitely, firmly, and in a

dignified manner, which caused admiration on the part of even his opponents.

The proprietors of Pennsylvania did not meet him half way, and this short-sighted policy caused further resentment and opposition. During his 18 years in England, Franklin was able to make trips to the Continent, where he was respected by the leaders for his literary, scientific, and political achievements. This was good preparation for his later ministry and diplomacy with France.

Franklin opposed the Stamp Act, as the representative of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Massachusetts. However, the Intolerable Acts of 1774 were too much for Franklin and the colonists to stand. Finding his further efforts to secure a just and lasting settlement between the colonies and England fruitless, he returned to Philadelphia in 1775, on the eve of the Revolution.

The following letter to a member of Parliament, who claimed to be his friend in spite of differences, shows Franklin's frankness and direct leadership.

Philadelphia, July 5, 1775.

Mr. Strahan, You are a member of that Parliament, and have formed part of that majority which has condemned my native country to destruction. You have begun to burn our towns, and to destroy their inhabitants. Look at your hands! They are stained with the blood of your relations and acquaintances. You and I were long friends. You are at present my enemy, and I am yours,

Benjamin Franklin.

These are typical words of Benjamin Franklin, who did not hesitate to take a stand and to make it known.

His Leadership in the War for Independence. Partly through Franklin's influence, France signed an offensive and a defensive alliance with the United States in 1778. Representing us in France and standing for America's interests, Franklin may have accomplished as much as Washington's armies. The United States could not have won the War for Independence without the help of France. On his return to Philadelphia, where he had served before his departure for France, as the President of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Con-

vention, Franklin was elected President of the Executive Council of his state.

Franklin served as a member of various colonial government committees, including the following: reorganization of the army, safety, and the drafting of the Declaration of Independence. He performed many tasks in managing the post office, printing paper money, and serving as a member of the Second Continental Congress. Benjamin Franklin was an influential leader for independence, after he had concluded that colonial unity with Great Britain was impossible without the sacrifice of honor and liberty.

His Influence in the Constitutional Convention. Franklin was a member of the committee which drafted the Constitution of the United States. He had also helped to draft the Articles of Confederation, which proved to be too weak and too decentralized in power. He served without salary as President of Pennsylvania from 1785 to 1787. In fact, he served his state and his country in several capacities without pay. He often donated his salary to worthy causes, when he did accept it.

During a heated moment in the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, Franklin's diplomacy asserted itself. The large and small states were divided on the matter of representation and the number of houses for lawmaking. Old Ben, now in his eighties, who had to be supported by a companion, made the observation that a carpenter would saw both ends of two boards a little in order to fit them together. There were sheepish looks on the faces of the delegates, who had been shouting that it was time to go home, and give up on a plan for a united nation. Opponents recognized this logic of the need for, and the possibility of, compromise. The House of Representatives and the Senate were provided for, and both the large and the small states felt that they were represented adequately. The Constitution of the United States is a series of compromises and readjustments.

Franklin did not favor everything in the new document, but he knew that it was flexible enough to change to meet new conditions, and that it was the best possible at the time. Little did he know—or perhaps he did realize—that

this immortal document would stand for so many years as the lighthouse of freedom.

Franklin lived to see the Constitution of the United States ratified, and his country unified and strengthened after the War for Independence. Franklin's hope for colonial unity had at last been realized after over 55 years of public life and service. One can visualize the patient, satisfied, and philosophical way in which this leader for American unity used his clever, diplomatic, and pertinent remarks and influence. He was not a good speaker. And vet, the twinkle in his eyes, the witty and timely comments, and the clear-cut humor achieved oratory could much more than accomplished.

Benjamin Franklin's Diplomacy and Vision. Franklin's attempt to get England to cede us Canada as an evidence of good faith was almost successful. He had realized, however, that France had hoped to recover Canada sometime, and he could not carry his proposal too far. He pushed his advantage with both countries, and narrowly averted strained relations, which might have led to war. His tact, or ability to say and do the thing which would not offend, and his charm, prevented strained relations from breaking out, when we could least afford trouble.

No doubt, Franklin was ahead of his time in his desire for the abolition of slavery, intercolonial and national unity, religious tolerance and freedom, freedom of thought, expression, and action. His love of the arts, music, literature, philosophy, education, science, and civic betterment and reform increased Franklin's standing, recognition, and influence.

His diplomacy was due in large part to his sense of humor, his many interests and abilities, and his friendliness and simplicity. He had a wealth of information and homely sayings which he published, distributed, and uttered for the common people. Franklin often had opponents laughing with each other, thus bridging many a gap which might have meant a failure nationally or internationally. He used clever ways of presenting stories, exaggerations, and witty observations in order to get his ideas and points across, and to influence this country toward unity and national development. His diplomacy and ingenuity helped

him to achieve his goals. Some people may have considered Franklin's wit as "wisecracks." But time and progress have proved his wisdom.

His Contribution to His Country. "Benjamin and Deborah Franklin," is the simple inscription on a small marble slab, level with the surface of the earth, in Christ Cemetery, Philadelphia. When he was 23 years of age, he made this original epitaph:

The body of Benjamin Franklin, Printer (Like the Cover of An Old Book, Its Contents Torn Out and Stripped Of Its Lettering and Gilding) Lies Here Food For Worms; Yet the Work Itself Shall Not Be Lost, For It Will (As He Believed) Appear Once More In A New and More Practical Edition Corrected and Amended By The Author.

How true that Franklin's work would not be lost! His achievements and services to the early colonial life and development into a nation are permanent contributions. He had a most influential and guiding part in attempts at union, the development of science, invention, literature, and world relations and diplomacy. His standing and personality among the other nations helped America to move forward as an independent nation and government. Like Jefferson, Washington, and Lincoln, Franklin studied, worked, sacrificed, and then achieved his goals. He lived fully and effectively for 84 years, influencing and participating to the end of his life. "The First Citizen," "The Apostle of Modern Times," "The Incomparable Benefactor of Mankind," are some of the names given him. He gave approximately 60 years to public service and leadership at home and abroad, when he could have enjoyed leisure and retirement from the demands and criticisms of public life.

His Appearance and Personality. His height was about five feet ten inches. He was blond, and he had gray eyes. There was usually a twinkle in his eye; his face was kindly. In his youth, Franklin excelled in physical and mental games and activity, and played to win, which he often did, over his opponents. Pictures of him, and actors who portray him on the screen, give the impression that Franklin was more or less of a stupid sort of person in appearance and action. Some biographers seem to consider him to have been average.

And yet, Franklin attained renown as a student of science, language, and literature. He achieved fame as a writer. Much of this attainment was through self-development. His skill in handling people and influencing nations was remarkable. He had a keen insight into human nature and character, and won people through his shrewdness. At an early age, he was a most successful and independent businessman. Benjamin Franklin was one of our first philanthropists and humanitarians. He gave his inventions to his country, taking out no patents on his own inventions, because he felt that they should belong to the people who would benefit from them. He was willing to sacrifice everything for the cause in which he believed and for which he lived.

In France, his appearance was unique and revealing—"his hair hanging, his spectacles on his nose, his white hose, and white hat under his arm." He was loved by France and became the idol of Paris. Medallions, busts, and pictures with his likeness were sold, and displayed on rings and on snuff boxes.

A contemporary of Franklin's wrote of him and the reception that he received in France as follows: "—is besieged, followed, adored, wherever he shows himself, with a fury, a fanaticism, capable no doubt of flattering him and doing him honor, but which proves that we shall never be reasonable."

In his estimate of Franklin, John Adams said:

His name was familiar to governments and people, to kings, courtiers, nobility, clergy, and philosophers, as well as plebeians or the common people, to such an extent that there was scarcely a peasant or citizen, a valet de chambre, coachman or footman, a lady's maid, or a scullion in a kitchen, who was not familiar with it, and who did not consider him a friend to humankind. When they spoke of him they seemed to think that he was to restore the Golden Age—.

Franklin had a genius, original sagacious or keen, and invention, capable of discoveries in science no less than that of improvements in the fine arts and the mechanic arts. He had a vast imagination, equal to the comprehension of the greatest objects, and capable of a steady and cool comprehension of them.

He had wit at will. He had humor that, when he pleased, was delicate and delightful. He had satire that was good-natured or caustic or sharp and severe. He had talents for irony or gentle and cutting words which often meant the opposite of what they seemed to mean—mockery, and allegory or veiled presentations, and fable, that he could adapt with great skill to the promotion of moral and political truth.

John Adams' statements, which admit the greatness of Benjamin Franklin as a leader in colonial life and culture, are important, because they were often opponents and near enemies in their contemporary lives. He granted that Franklin could get along with people, influence them, and win them through his many interests, achievements, and talents. It is interesting to note that the very qualities for which Adams praises Franklin here are the ones for which he criticizes him later on.

Franklin's Sacrifice. In a letter to Congress in 1781, Franklin asked to be relieved of his ministry in France. He wrote:

I must now beg leave to say something relating to myself—a subject with which I have not often troubled Congress. I have passed my seventy-fifth year, and I find that the long and severe fit of the gout which I had the last winter has shaken me exceedingly. and I am yet far from having recovered the bodily strength I before enjoyed. I do not know that my mental faculties are impaired -perhaps I shall be the last to discover that —but I am sensible of great diminution of my activity, a quality I think particularly necessary in your ministry at this court. I am afraid, therefore, that your affairs may sometime or other suffer by my deficiency. I find also that the business is too heavy for me and too confining.

I have been engaged in public affairs, and enjoyed public confidence in some shape or other during the long term of 50 years, and honour sufficient to satisfy any reasonable ambition; and I have no other left but that of repose, which I hope the Congress will grant me by sending some person to supply my place—I propose to remain here at least till the peace—perhaps it may be for the remainder of my life—and if any knowledge

or experience I have acquired here may be thought of use to my successor, I shall freely communicate it and assist him with any influence I may be supposed to have, or counsel that may be desired of me.

Thomas Jefferson took Franklin's place in France. Upon his return to America, Franklin was elected chairman of the municipal council and President of Pennsylvania. He wrote to a friend:

I have not firmness enough to resist the unanimous desire of my country folks, and I find myself harnessed again to their service another year. They engrossed the prime of my life. They have eaten my flesh, and seem resolved now to pick the bones.

He was unanimously elected in 1786 and 1787, and was chosen a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787.

His Last Words. Toward the last days of his life, Franklin said: "I seem to have intruded myself into the company of posterity when I ought to have been abed and asleep." But he took up his pen for one final attempt in his "Plea for the Abolition of Slavery." Franklin formed the first anti-slavery society and signed the first remonstrance against slavery addressed to the Congress. He served as president of this group against the institution of slavery. His last hours were painful, but he tended to be cheerful to the end, saying: "A dying man can do nothing easy-and-These pains will soon be over—I cannot suspect the annihilation of souls-I believe I shall in some shape or other always exist."

Franklin's contributions and influences on Colonial America were great. Many things, which we take for granted in health and welfare, were discovered by him. His diplomacy in handling the affairs of the colonies and their citizens, and the countries and citizens of the world, laid a firm foundation which has continued. We read his *Autobiography* and quote his sayings today, often unaware that many of our statements, teachings, and admonitions are the words and philosophy of Benjamin Franklin.

Possible Shortcomings. There is some evidence that seems to indicate that Franklin's desire for financial security caused him to use his friends to gain that security. Some of his

apparently unselfish acts gave him opportunity for self-glorification and commendation. He was argumentative and opinionated on occasion, with a tendency toward "putting it over on the other fellow." There is evidence that his marriage was based upon economic considerations, and that his moral standards were questionable—people referred to him in a belittling way as a "ladies' man."

Franklin's pursuits were mainly civic, and some people may have objected to his lack of military activity, at a time when his friends were endangering their lives. He did help, however, to raise a large sum of money for Braddock's army in order to defend the colonies against the French and Indians in 1775, during the French and Indian War. And he also supplied guns and wagons. Franklin advised Braddock against open warfare, but Braddock disregarded this advice with disastrous results. For several months during the French and Indian War, he commanded a division of troops in defense of the Northwest frontier. He was willing to sacrifice his fortunes in the cause of the colonies. His friends and countrymen called on him for one important task after another, and he never failed them.

Granted that he may have had some faults and shortcomings, his remarkable and important achievements and services outweigh his weaknesses. Like Jefferson and Washington, he was meticulous, detailed, and thorough. He also achieved distinction in many fields of endeavor.

Benjamin Franklin's America

In 1783, America had achieved its independence from England and had set up its own government. Franklin was to serve in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and was to live until 1790. The nation's area was 850,000 square miles; its population was 3,500,000 people, the approximate number of people in Missouri today.

The Indians, French, English, and Spanish were still on this continent. There was some of the Northwest which was unknown. There were only a third of the inhabitants who were of the white race. Thirteen separate states—almost thirteen independent nations—composed the United States. Sectionalism prevailed, national unity was slowly emerging. There were com-

mon bonds of language, race, and government upon which to build nationalism.

But Franklin's America was only a small part of the America of today. We must recognize that fact in our estimate of the man, his work, and his times.

Benjamin Franklin (1706—1790)

Mileposts

- 1706—Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on January 17.
- 1718-1723—After two years' schooling, young Ben went into his father's candle shop, became an apprentice for his brother, wrote poetry, played and excelled in games, and read and discussed important subjects.
- 1723—Young Franklin left his brother, with whom he could not agree, and at seventeen years of age, arrived in Philadelphia, where he worked for a printer.
- 1730-1744—After living and working in London, Franklin established *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, and the Philosophical Society (at first the Junto Club), and the Philadelphia Library.
- 1732-1757—He published *Poor Richard's Almanac*, which had a great influence on the lives of the colonists.
- 1746—Demonstrated his lightning and electricity experiment and continued such experiments and projects.
- 1753—Was appointed Postmaster-General of the colonies.
- 1754—He introduced the Albany Plan of Union for the colonies.
- 1755—Assisted General Braddock in raising money and supplies for war with the French, and for a time, he commanded a division of troops in defense of the Northwest frontier. Engaged in no battles. While he

- was against war, Franklin was willing to do what the occasion demanded. This was true in the Revolution, when he favored peace and cooperation with Britain, at first.
- 1775—He was appointed a member of the Second Continental Congress, and served on committees of various kinds, one of which drafted the Declaration of Independence, another one, the Articles of Confederation.
- 1776-1785—Minister to France, where he negotiated the important Treaty of 1778, which insured our success in the Revolution, and increased our standing with France. He had secured the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1776.
- 1783—Franklin, with Adams and Jay, achieved the separate peace with England.
- 1785-1788—He was President of the Supreme Council of the State of Pennsylvania.
- 1787—He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, where he helped further compromises and readjustments.
- 1790—Benjamin Franklin died in Philadelphia, on April 17.

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Postwar New Zealand

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Conditions in postwar New Zealand today are on the whole very favorable. Substantial progress has been made in the rehabilitation of

ex-servicemen and women. The subsidized rehabilitation program has achieved a reasonable amount of success in providing jobs for former personnel. In addition to furnishing employment in industry, the Rehabilitation Board has provided trade training for 10,796; farm training for 3,147 and educational help for 17,275.

The Dominion has no serious veteran problem; it has no problem of unemployment. In fact, there is an actual shortage of labor, especially for state and state-subsidized works.

In the last semi-annual survey of the National Employment Service a steady yearly decrease in the number of youth entering industry was revealed and a continuing decrease was predicted for the next six years. Fall in the birth rate during the period from 1926 to 1935 is given as the reason for the smaller number of recruits for labor.

Because of this fact, the government has embarked upon a comprehensive program for inducing immigration. Special attention was called to the scheme during the course of the "Financial Statement," presented in the House of Representatives on August 21, 1947, by Minister of Finance, Mr. Walter Nash. He emphasized the fact that New Zealand can support a much larger population than its present 1,631,414 and that the government hopes, under the new policy, to bring in some 10,000 immigrants by the end of 1949.

At the present time the plan is restricted to single people between the ages of 20 and 35. They are selected for work in the more important services and industries, such as women for the various kinds of essential factory employment and for mental and general public hospitals, and men for lumbering and coal mining. Preference is accorded discharged service personnel. The New Zealand Government gives free passage to ex-servicemen and women, while civilians contribute £10 each to help defray the cost of transportation.

Of the 800 passengers that arrived in Auckland aboard the *Rangitata* on August 24, 1947, 118 were government-assisted immigrants. Mr. J. V. Brennan, officer heading the immigration division of the department, welcomed them for Mr. A. McLagan, Minister of Immigration. Before leaving the ship, the new arrivals were fully instructed in regard to their employment and their living accommodations, and were issued ration books.

Housing is the major internal problem facing New Zealand at the present time. The government has been committed to an ambitious state house-building program of 16,000 houses per year. And while it continues to push construction to the limit of available materials, shortages of labor and essential building items are serious handicaps. Yet, in the suburbs of Wellington alone, some 4000 houses are now being completed.

As a result of the state housing scheme, Hutt Valley-only eight miles from Wellingtonhas been transformed from a community of small farms and hamlets to a city of 35,000. The state-built houses are both practical and attractive in design. In no single block does one find two houses alike. Rents range from 14 shillings per week for small apartments to 42/6 per week for eight-room houses for large families. A five-room house rents for slightly more than 25 to 30 shillings a week; in other words, about four to five dollars in U.S. currency. (The present rate of exchange is 6:1 to the American dollar). The State Advances Department collects the rent and penalizes overdue tenants 2/6 per week.

Unlike Australia, applicants for houses are not selected by ballot. They are required to furnish specific, and complete details in regard to size of family, present living quarters, and degree of need. All information is carefully checked by the State Advances Department, which really serves as the landlord, and houses are given to the most urgent cases. Ex-service personnel are allotted about half of the available homes.

The government's stabilization program has been quite successful in averting inflation. Wages, as well as rents, are controlled by the stabilization committee. There have been some increases since the war; and it is generally recognized today that food prices will go up more during the next six to twelve months because of the lifting of subsidies. Sugar that is now retailing at 3d per pound may go up to 7d. Sugar, tea, butter and meat, as well as clothing are still rationed. However, the allowance in each case is quite generous and apparently invokes no hardship.

Most of the wartime emergency controls are still operative. The country has reverted largely to the 40-hour week. In regard to this matter one hears numerous complaints. Many New Zealanders feel that the country cannot produce sufficiently on a five-day week. They sincerely and firmly believe that the only way the Dominion can achieve maximum production, both for export and for the satisfaction of essential consumer goods at home, is through a longer working week. They feel that the present economic crisis of Britain presents as grave a situation as the recent war; and while perhaps they would not advocate returning to the 54-hour week, that prevailed for the duration, they would urge a 48-hour week.

Income taxes remain at wartime levels—2/6 a £ on all earnings. There is a sales tax of 20 per cent on some goods; 10 per cent on others. Foodstuffs are exempt from this charge.

Social security benefits continue to increase in cost. "Expenditures on all social services," says the Minister of Finance, "have risen from £7,756,000 in 1935-1936 to £53,871,000 in 1946-1947." The social security charge of 1/6 on each £ of earnings and the £16,000,000 transferred from the Consolidated Fund were not quite sufficient to finance the scheme this year. Yet the proposed budget called for an increase in the basic rates of all benefits from £2 to £2 5s per week, effective October 1, 1947.

According to Mr. Nash, "The major achievement last year was the introduction from April 1, 1946, of the universal family benefit of 10s a week for each child up to the age of 16 years." The cost of this benefit for the first year amounted to £12,681,000.

The average New Zealander has two main criticisms of the whole social security scheme—first, many people will never receive in the form of benefits as much money as they pay in taxes; second, medical benefits are costing altogether too much and the health of the nation has not improved as anticipated. Medical benefits for the current budget are estimated to £6,493,000—an increase of more than £500,000 over last year.

New Zealanders are anxious for relief from wartime taxes. They charge that the continuance of high taxes will result in higher prices which in turn will hamper production. The Dominion must increase production both for the sake of its own internal economy and in order to meet its ever-increasing obligations in the British Empire.

New Zealand has shown what a small nation could do during the war. In the postwar world, New Zealand's place is no less significant. The grave economic crisis in the United Kingdom has made it imperative that New Zealand assume additional responsibility both in local and in regional defense. Ever since the Agreement signed with Australia at Canberra on January 21, 1944, she has considered collaboration with that Commonwealth as essential to sound postwar Pacific policy. As a member of the United Nations, she has pledged herself to guard the welfare and the security of those islands and territories which lie close to her shores.

In the Pacific, in imperial and in world affairs, New Zealand must of necessity play increasingly a more important part.

Use of Local Historical Documents in Teaching the Social Studies

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Thousands of American school children will visit the Freedom Train as it journeys across the United States. To them will be given an unparalleled opportunity of viewing, in their own community, documents which chart the development of our heritage of democracy,

ranging from the Magna Carta to the Charter of the United Nations.

It is anticipated that this experience of seeing at first hand these charters of liberty will promote much greater understanding and appreciation of these notable records of the evolution of democracy. In the words of Frederic G. Melcher: "No facsimiles, reprints, or spoken broadcasts of these documents would under any circumstances make the impact that these rare originals will make as they travel from city to city during the coming months."

The inspection of the Freedom Train should lead teachers of the social studies to increased emphasis upon primary source materials, including local historical documents, rich in local history. Every community has a store of these records, and, although they may not be easily accessible at all times, nevertheless the value of this material is particularly significant to the teaching of the social studies.

Clerks of school districts, villages, towns, and counties, as well as commissions of records of other governmental sub-divisions and agencies, are required to preserve their minutes, many of which date to late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Through these records runs the story of the organization and development of local government. Early church membership rolls, military lists, handbooks of academies, early maps and surveys, old deeds, files of justice's dockets, and many other types of government records all contain interesting materials, basic data which may be used in developing the study of community history. Projects stemming from individual interests may be organized around these local documents. Committees may be named to investigate certain specific areas and to present their findings to the class. The majority of state-approved courses of study now permit greater flexibility in the development of the curriculum, thus offering enlarged opportunities for the teacher to expand consideration of these phases of history in the social studies program.

State Divisions of History, Halls of Records and Archives, and the offices of local historians—all are eager to assist local groups interested in the inspection, study, and use of documents of historical value. Student groups may assist in the compilation of bibliographies of local historical source materials. Student essays and research papers, based upon study of local historical materials and documents, can be added to the school library collection of community history.

Teachers should be familiar with the inventories of archives made by the Historical Records Survey under the sponsorship of the Federal Works Progress Administration. These bibliographies list rather completely the various archival materials filed in the offices of the county and town clerks. They may thus be used as effective aids in locating materials of interest to local groups. Although compiled approximately ten years ago, their value for early community history has not depreciated. For example, the Inventory of the Albany (New York) County Archives² lists several hundred archival collections, including such record groups as: Revolutionary War Soldiers' Warrants, Recorded Deeds, 1654—; Register of Manumitted Slaves; Records of Military Service, Civil War; Church Patents, 1784-1842; Poll Lists for Elections, 1776-1891; Supreme Court Decisions and Decrees, 1691. Using such materials, the student can develop many interesting projects. He will see the progress of the nation reflected in the history of the community. He will gain added insight into the development of his own city and town.

Activities in the study of historical documents may be planned by social studies teachers in cooperation with local officials, historical societies, museums, and by loan of materials from State Library and Historical agencies. Files of materials, including letters, maps, and pictures, should be a valuable part of the classroom collection of materials for social studies. Students may be able to assist in the location, preservation, cataloging, and restoring of local historical materials which might otherwise be destroyed or misplaced.

An outstanding example of the successful integration of local documents in the social studies program is evidenced by the publication of When Our Town Was Young,³ produced by an alert group of seventh grade students. Beginning with available secondary materials, the students then interviewed older residents of the community for local lore, visited historic sites, and devoted considerable study to local historic documents, compiling a very unusual

¹ Publishers Weekly (September 6, 1947), p. 1029.

² Albany: The Historical Records Survey, (mimeographed), 1937.

³ Frances Eichner and Helen Tibbets, (Eds.) When Our Town Was Young (North Salem, New York: Board of Education, 1945).

account of the development of their community. Among the documents studied as primary sources were a quit-claim deed of 1731, which set up the first division of colonial land of the area, an old Bible which contained historical materials dating to 1755, files of early community newspapers, cemetery lists, church records compiled in 1751, letters of Revolutionary times, minutes of the early Quaker settlers, farmstead deeds, and the records of the original academy dated 1787-1853.

In these days of mounting printing costs, the majority of schools, at first, will not wish to produce such an expensive publication, but a volume of similar content utilizing less expensive methods of duplication, such as the mimeograph, can easily be prepared, and will offer equally effective service to the student, the school, and the community.

Every progressive teacher of the social studies will want to include opportunities for his students to acquire a first-hand knowledge of local history. The use of local historical documents should be an integral part in the development of the social studies program.

Why Teach Introductory Economics?

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At present, there is considerable controversy concerning the content of the introductory course in economics. The controversy is an indication that the teacher-economist is searching for ways to serve the needs and purposes of his students.

Some educators would attribute our present confusion to world catastrophes which have affected all parts of our educational system, and, specifically, the teaching of economics. However, if we could agree upon the main reason *why* we teach an introductory course in economics, much of the present confusion could be eliminated.

Higher education has been confronted with the necessity of shifting its primary objective from training the scholar to training the citizen. Up to the present, leading economists have not taken interest in the new problems posed in the introductory course because of the shift in objective. It has been the humanists rather than the social scientists who have contributed books and articles on higher education.

But the present discussions of what should be taught in the introductory course have demanded that we ask ourselves why we teach the course at all. There is, I submit, sufficient evidence now that many economist-teachers are recognizing their aim to be the training of the responsible citizen. If we can agree that the student needs such training and that introductory economics is particularly fitted to satisfy that need, then we shall find that the problem of what to teach will become less difficult.

Many economists have prolonged the discussion of content of the introductory course because they confuse their function as a social scientist with that as a teacher of social science. Truth is an end worthy of attainment for the scientist, but the teacher must indicate the significance of scientific studies if he is to satisfy the demand of the students—and this demand has changed because of tremendous increase in the number of students from families below the higher income levels. While the teacher has different objectives than the researcher, the teacher must not confuse method with content, for training in methods of teaching social sciences is not a substitute for training in content.

There are many evidences that: (1) there is a need for education for responsible citizenship; and (2) the social sciences in general, and economics in particular, can accomplish that objective.

Harvard Business School's ex-Dean Donham is pointing an accusing finger at teacher-economists when he declares that students are leaving college "without securing any education which equips them with background, habits, and

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skills useful in either living or making a living." Since the introductory course in economics makes no claim to serve vocational educational interests, we may accept only part of his criticism. His colleague, Professor Mayo, is more specific in pointing up the need for education for citizenship:

Under the influence of economic theory, we have a system of education that trains young men in technical understanding and technical skill; we do nothing to develop social insight or to impart social skill. Indeed we provide an education that operates to hinder the development of such skills. And the general public, business leaders, and politicians are left with the implication that mankind is an unorganized rabble upon which order must be imposed.2

While we accept Professor Mayo's criticism, few of us would go so far as to put the blame, as Professor Lynd does, on the social scientist. Lynd feels that since someone is going to interpret the findings of research men, the social scientist must make normative judgments. Lynd confuses the role of the social scientist with that of the social philosopher or the reformer. We must admit, with Lynd, that unless the researcher translates his findings "into the realm of wide meaning, he invites others presumably more biased than himself, to thrust upon the culture their interpretation of the meaning of the situation."3 But we still insist that the economist who makes value judgments must realize he is not a social scientist, a research economist, when he does so, but is then acting as a welfareeconomist.

Representative of statements indicating that the introductory course in economics can contribute to the education of the responsible citizen is that of Professor Bowman who declares economics derives its importance from the contribution it can make to the understanding and solution of social problems. Emerson told us that any subject matter can contribute to

man's endeavor to understand himself, but the special contribution of the social sciences is in giving man an understanding of the nature of culture and of human nature.4

Thus we see, the social sciences have the greatest potential civic value. But because we lack objectives, the entire social studies program is cluttered up6 with subject matter that should be eliminated because it lacks civic value. Social sciences may be taught for other than civic purposes, but it is essential to touch lightly in the introductory courses on those "teachings" which lack such value.

But how can teachers help the citizens of a nation to work understandingly for a larger and better world? We find general agreement that every citizen should possess those economic understandings and attitudes which will make it possible for him to cooperate with his fellow citizens in the tremendously difficult task of fashioning a better economic order-in which jobs will be available for willing and competent workers. But more courses are not the answer: in spite of a wide agreement that a revision of the economics curriculum involves additional courses. If Ulich's advice "to place the student in an environment which he is able to master through consistent use of his abilities and from which he may expand the circle of his experiences gradually through more courageous acting and thinking"7 is interpreted to mean that we need an introduction to the introductory course, we are still left with the problem of the introductory course. The intermediate courses are so constructed that bits of information are assumed. How, for example, is a student to jump from a "synthesis of social studies" course to public finance? No one will deny the interrelatedness of all the social sciences. But we must give the good citizen much of the information (the kind of material that economics alone can place before the student) of the intro-

¹ Wallace B. Donham, Education for Responsible Liv-(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Elton Mayo, The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization (Cambridge, Mass.: Div. of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1945), p. 50.

Robert S. Lynd, Knowledge For What? (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1946), p. 186.

⁴ Robert Redfield, "The Study of Culture in General Education" Education" (Boston, Mass.: Address delivered to the National Council of Social Studies, November 30, 1946.) Redfield uses "culture" to mean the whole integrated traditional body of ways of doing, thinking, and feeling that give a social group its character.

John J. Mahoney, For US the Living (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945), Chap. 2.

⁶ Richard Clemence and Francis S. Doody, "Modern Economics and the Introductory Course," American Economic Review, XXXII (June, 1942), p. 337.

7 Robert Ulich, History of Education Thought (New

York: American Book Company, 1945), p. 347.

ductory course if we are to avoid being guilty of the charge that Thomas Henry Huxley made of schools when he admonished a student in these words:

There you shall toil, or be supposed to toil; but there you shall not learn one single thing of all those you will most want to know, directly you leave school and enter upon the practical business of life. You will in all probability go into business, but you shall not know where, or how, any article of commerce is produced, or the difference between an export or an import, or the meaning of the word *capital*.

It is apparent that the material usually covered in the introductory course contains information (at least) which is useful for the responsible citizen. Perhaps, John Stuart gave us a clue for proper emphasis of the content when he told us that if we are to be qualified to judge the means of making a nation rich we must first be political economists.

Those who would substitute an introduction to the introductory course for the introductory course because "systematic economic theory is an educational device which does not educate" would not maintain that the basic problem with respect to content is the integration of the work of the "institutional" and "theoretical" schools of economists. Some hold much hope for the national income approach to integrate content and to stimulate the student in the basic course. It is interesting to note that Professor Mahoney, a professor of education, also considers one of the most significant problems for the responsible citizen is that of how to maintain our national income at high levels.

There are at least three texts on the press at the moment which will provide the materials for this approach. But books alone will not make a responsible citizen. The teacher who presents such material, without first determining why, will get results which can be no more satisfactory than are the results at present, for, as Mr. Dooley said, "Believe me, Hinnissy, readin' is not thinkin'."

Perhaps the national income approach will place us on a ground where the criticism neither

of Dostoevski nor of the Harvard Committee will apply. The former's words, in *The Brothers Karamazov*, are as the voice of an astute student: "But they have only analyzed the parts and overlooked the whole, and indeed, their blindness is marvelous." The latter points out that there is always the danger, in courses in economics, of spreading the material so thin that no opportunity is afforded for careful analysis.

What right did I have to assert at the outset that there is sufficient evidence now that many economists recognize their teaching objective to be the training of the responsible citizen? Professor Mabel Newcomer asked hundreds of teachers: "What is the primary objective of your introductory course?" The emphatic reply was: "Training for responsible citizenship." This concept gained much popularity after World War I. But in 1917, the primary aim at Harvard was "to survey the subject for a comprehensive and systematic view of the field to be covered."9 But, since then, the survey has become unworkable (if it ever was useful), in part, because of the increasing and embarrassing wealth of materials.

Moreover, since 1917, we have become even more departmentalized—such specialism is part of the professional or vocational training necessary for survival in a capitalist society. . . . And, as Lynd says: "The tendency of the specialist to abstract his problem from its context can never be wholly overcome."

In 1917, the secondary aim, at Harvard, was to train the students in methods of study and thought appropriate to the subject. This aim is still popular with those economists who show no indication of knowing that transfer of learning depends upon the relevance of the thing learned to the new situation, as well as upon the intelligence of the learner. Disciplined thinking, if it can be accomplished by courses, has as much chance of success in the humanities, or in the natural sciences, as in the social sciences.

Some replies to Professor Newcomer reveal that no aim has been formulated. Economics is offered because it is offered! Others deny John 0

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⁸ Horst Mendershausen, "Concept and Teaching of Economics" American Economic Review (June, 1946),

⁹ Henry W. Holmes, *The Teaching of Economics in Harvard University* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1917), p. 20.

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Dewey's concept that education is a process of living, and not entirely a preparation for living, by saying that their primary objective is to fit the student to carry on by himself when he gets out in the real world. The student, and the non-student too, will "get an education" in economics as long as he lives. Ours is the task of directing that education toward the result of an active, responsible citizen. That task involves working toward the objectives of civic education. We must recognize the good man is not necessarily the good citizen, and limit the idea of the good citizen by the ideal of the good man.

The introductory course in economics should be classified as within civic education. Some intermediate, and most advanced, courses may be classified as having special or vocational aims. For general education, of which civic education is one part and cultural the other part, is distinguished from special education, not by subject matter, but in terms of method and outlook, no matter what the field. The introductory course could keep vocational aims in view to the extent that the purposes of the students could be satisfied: i.e., different vocational emphasis for future engineers than for future house-wives.

Education for citizenship is civic education (not civics); it is not the job of the teacher-economist alone, although it is the primary job of the teacher of the introductory course. Civic education is a field of education in which certain subjects and parts of subjects are taught to induce better living together in a democratic way; or (synonymously) to develop better civic behaviors.

Thus, the teacher-economist is faced with the apparent dilemma: if he is to teach effectively, he cannot avoid influencing his students, but if he makes value judgments, he risks becoming a welfare-economist. The recognition that in the introductory course we can stick to theories and illustrations and problems which are the concern of *all* citizens will permit the "dilemma" to be resolved.

The important objective, from the point of view of the student, is to "get" the economic aspects of problems which all citizens face. If he realizes the teachers' conclusions are not the one-and-only possible solution to problems

which vex us, he does not run the "danger" of being influenced by a welfare-economist.

Professor Mahoney has suggested ten civic objectives. Two objectives concern the introductory course primarily:

- (1) Economic democracy—needed understandings
- (2) Economic democracy—needed attitudes

The first objective has been stated by others, e.g., T. W. Hutchinsen: "The social point of view in economics is the one that will be taken by an individual who is making adjustments and cooperating as a member of the association called society"; J. J. Spengler's introductory course would fit the student for cooperative life in the economic community.

The second civic objective has not been widely accepted by economists because of their aversion for "welfare economics." However, we do discover everywhere, as Ulich emphasizes, the need for a new and total conception of man; in his relation to science and faith, in his relation to state and government, and finally in his relation to self and society. We cannot dismiss this objective without further consideration and interpretation.

Since we live in a day when the conditions which governed the lives of our fathers no longer govern ours, we must develop a society whose members have a chance to correct its errors and ailments. That the second objective involves nothing "radical" is revealed in two other objectives of civic education:

- (3) An adequate understanding of, and a wholehearted allegiance to, the democratic way of life (which, of course, is subject to a variety of interpretations).
- (4) An appreciation of the rights, privileges, and protections which political democracy ensures.

The basic course in economics which is to train the responsible citizen must integrate the "theory" and the "concrete." The objective of such a course can be attained only if the teacher-economist is willing, and able, to make normative judgments on fundamental economic problems which are consistent with attaining a better life for our society. The matter of making such judgments is not new—we teach normative economics all the time.

Out of the infinity of possibilities, the economist selects a judicious mixture, not always acknowledged or even realized, of factual objective study and normative judgment. "The classical, if not the contemporary, economist is engaged on the one hand in a description and analysis of this or that economic instruction, and on the other hand with a criticism of what he describes and analyzes in the light of the norm of a sound economy." 10

This essay has suggested that economists have sufficient evidence which forces agreement that the main reason why we should teach an introductory course in economics is to train responsible citizens. Even though such a determination does not lend itself to objective research, there is wide agreement that the nature of the subject matter in economics is such that no other area of knowledge covers the same material which is so directly connected with the action of the responsible citizen. So long as we select those topics which are of common concern to citizens, we shall discover the "problem of content" will become easier. The general aims of civic education demand that the teacher-economist believe in a democratic way of life and recognize the evolutionary character of our economy. If the teacher-economist is to train for responsible citizenship, he cannot avoid making normative judgments-judgments based upon the criteria involved in civic education. The immediate task for the introductory course staff is to determine specifically the criteria which will be generally accepted at the present time. A correlative problem is the relationship of the basic course to other courses in general education and to advanced courses in economics.

News and Comment

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A LESSON ON RACIAL UNDERSTANDING

One of the most powerful statements on the race problem to appear in a long time was an article by Walter White in The Saturday Review of Literature for October 11. Mr. White has been the executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for 16 years, and has written and worked widely to promote better racial understanding. The article referred to was entitled. "Why I Remain a Negro." The significance of the title rests, of course, upon the fact that Mr. White possesses none of the physical characteristics of the Negro. He is the embodiment of that most disturbing fact—that many persons who possess some Negro "blood" are undistinguishable physically and intellectually from the most typical Nordic. It is a disturbing fact at least to those who believe that a Negro is by nature inferior, for if he neither looks, acts or thinks in an inferior manner, how can one know when to assume an air of superiority?

Mr. White asks the question: "Suppose the skin of every Negro in America were suddenly

to turn white. What would happen to all the notions about Negroes?" It is difficult to imagine a more pertinent question, for it strikes at the heart of the fallacy in racial intolerance. It highlights the truth that we condemn individuals because of the groups they belong to through no choice of their own. Remove the group badge and we would be compelled to judge each individual on his own merits. What would then happen to our assumption that certain races and nationalities are inferior to our own? Can we believe that with all physical distinctions removed, these races would still sink to the bottom of the social order through their own innate inferiority? Or, relieved of the handicap of physical stigmata, would they compete with equal success with the rest of us?

The question is not entirely an academic one, for every year some 12,000 Negroes "disappear"; actually they move into new neighborhoods and take advantage of their lack of Negro physical characteristics to pass as white. This has been going on for many decades, and the number of whites today who possess some Negro strain must be very large. That they

¹⁰ Harvard Committee Report, General Education In A Free Society (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1946), p. 62.

have become a normal undistinguishable part of the white population strikes a sharp blow at "racial purity" theories, for if there were anything inferior about Negro ancestry, such a large number possessing it could not conceivably "pass" successfully.

Mr. White, though perfectly able to "pass," has chosen to retain his identity as a Negro and to work for better interracial understanding from that side of the fence. In his article he tells why, and pictures vividly the things he has seen and experienced as a member of an outcast people. It is a particularly forceful discussion because it is written by a man who, almost more than any other, can be said to belong to two races and think like both of them. He points out in passing some of the few advantages that the accomplished Negro has over the white man, such as his opinion that Negro authors are more likely to find favor with publishers simply because it seems a little remarkable to them that Negroes should be able to write books at all. Chiefly he makes only too clear the illogical basis of race antagonism; one can almost be amused at imagining the plight of the race enthusiasts if by a miracle they should be deprived of the ability to identify "inferiors." Upon whom then could they rely to act the part of the underdog so that their own superiority could be manifest? They could only hope that there would be more like Mr. White who would refuse to deny their ancestry.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

The first intercultural workshop on the university level ever held in the South met this past summer at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The participating groups in the six-weeks enterprise were the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Department of Education of the University of North Carolina, the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education of the American Council on Education, and the Bureau for Intercultural Education. It was an important experiment in the effort to enlist the cooperation of the South in a problem that is so vital there.

Lester Dix of the Bureau for Intercultural Education prepared a summary of the workshop's activities for the October issue of *The High School Journal*. He says that the experi-

ment indicated that intercultural workshops are an excellent means for enabling educators, both Northern and Southern, to understand the folkways of the South, and to realize why it is difficult to bring about reconditioning. They are means by which the more liberal and better educated Southerners can meet and draw moral support from each other and from similar types of people from other sections of the country. They form a basis for the exchange of ideas, information and techniques which may be used to advantage in local situations, and they supply a method of opening the minds of teachers who have themselves been educated in the traditional outlook on problems of human relations. This last value is especially important, for the benefits of intercultural education can hardly be achieved if teachers themselves are bound by the fetters of prejudice and traditional thinking.

Mr. Dix's summary should be useful particularly to elementary teachers, for it includes a detailed report on the suggestions made by the workshop for intercultural materials and activities in the elementary field. There is a lengthy annotated list of books suitable for various ages, and another list of collections of songs for children. Still another list includes sound films, film strips and other audio-visual items. Suggestions are made for the use of art work, exhibits, hobbies, plays and festivals. These things are valuable, for if intercultural growth is to be effective it must be carried on throughout the elementary grades. At the secondary level, many of the child's permanent thought-patterns have been already formed. and remedial work then is likely to be superficial and ineffective. Much excellent work in human relations is being done in many elementary schools, and should be extended and emphasized wherever possible. It is a field where the emotions are more involved than the intellect. and patterns of liberality can be planted in very young minds as easily as prejudices.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN BRITAIN

On April 1, 1947, the compulsory school age in Great Britain was raised from 14 to 15. This finally carried out the recommendation of the British Board of Education which in 1926 proposed that such a change be effected by 1932. It is 15 years late, but much credit must be given the British government for adopting it now at a time when the obstacles are greater than ever before. H. C. Dent, writing in The School Review for November, and Sir Ernest Barker in The High School Journal for October, discussed the opportunities and the difficulties attendant on the new law. The purpose, of course, is the same that has activated higher compulsory schooling laws in most of our states—the recognition of the fact that this period in a child's life is important in determining his future. To allow a child to end his schooling at 14 is to cut it off in mid-stream, at a time when he is especially receptive to influences of all kinds, and is maturing most rapidly.

The new age law in Britain means an increase of nearly 400,000 pupils, with the many problems that naturally accompany such a change. There is apparently little danger of a teacher shortage, thanks to the emergency training program begun in 1945. Teaching candidates are plentiful and the supply should meet the need. Buildings represent one of the biggest problems. Thousands of existing schools were destroyed in the war, so that present facilities are far from adequate for even the normal school population. The school building program, though high in priority, is far behind schedule, and all sorts of temporary expedients are being resorted to. Also, the large increase in the number of secondary school pupils complicates the problem because most existing school buildings are not equipped for that age level. The great majority of children stopped their schooling at the elementary levels, and schools were equipped accordingly.

British educators now are faced with another problem that is still unsolved here. That is what kind of education to provide for the vast number who must attend the secondary schools but who will go no farther with their formal education. England is only a few years behind us in having to meet the question of how to remodel an educational system originally geared to the intellectually and economically fortunate, but now having to deal with every type of youth. This remains the greatest and most pressing issue of modern education everywhere. Possibly the British will do a more thor-

ough job of overhauling the curriculum than we have done, and provide us with some valuable object lessons.

International Conference on Public Education

The Tenth International Conference on Public Education was held at Geneva this past summer under the sponsorship of UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education. It was attended by delegates from 42 countries. Dr. Galen Jones, chairman of the United States delegation, has written a brief summary of its results in School Life for November. Most of the nations submitted reports on educational trends during 1946-47, and these were notable for the points they had in common. Equality of opportunity in education is being accepted ever more widely not only as an ideal, but as a practical necessity to be attained as rapidly as possible. Compulsory education has become almost universal, though the degree to which it is enforced depends a great deal on financial conditions and popular support. General raising of the school-leaving age has increased the recognition of the importance of secondary schooling, and there was particular interest in the idea of the comprehensive secondary school, which has never been as common in Europe as in this country. Adult education is receiving increased attention in many countries as one means of reducing the poor living conditions.

Two matters that the Conference dealt with were the free provision of school supplies, and physical education in the secondary schools. The Conference agreed that the free provision of school supplies to pupils and teachers was a necessary corollary of compulsory schooling. It recommended adequate financial provision for school libraries, and suggested the desirability of fostering the publication of international school materials such as blank maps, atlases, and books illustrating the habits, customs, dress, art, science and general culture of the nations of the world. Free transportation of pupils to school was another recommendation.

The Conference at the request of UNESCO considered the development over a period of time of *A World Charter for Educators*. Such a charter, developed through discussion and

agreement among professional organizations and educational institutions throughout the world, could well become the most valuable and outstanding document in the history of education. It could be a standard and a guidepost to the entire profession everywhere; its importance for the future challenges the imagination. It is to be fervently hoped that this project will be carried to completion, and with a scope and care in keeping with the greatness of its opportunity.

PROPAGANDA AND EDUCATION

Every social studies teacher is faced with the problem of how to present poltical theories. Most teachers accept it as their task to educate for critical thinking; they also believe that it is the school's duty to support the democratic way of life. The problem arises in trying to decide how to accomplish both of these purposes to the maximum extent possible. Can one indoctrinate for democracy and still teach critical thinking? Or can one concentrate on the latter and trust that even among immature minds it will have as its end product a sincere and deep-rooted conviction that American democratic methods are the best?

An unusually interesting and well-written discussion of this fundamental teaching problem was presented in the September High Points by William Isaacs and Jules Kolodny. The writers hold that direct indoctrination destroys the opportunity of young people to learn clear and critical thinking. They point out that all American schools are conducted on the assumption that American democracy is superior to communism and fascism, and that quite properly the whole school program indoctrinates pupils with the basic axioms of true democracy, such as equal political and civil rights, free speech, and the liberty and sanctity of the individual. It is when the attempt to indoctrinate for democracy goes beyond these basic tenets into the more controversial realms of economic thought that the dangers to clear thinking arise. "A democratic way of life" means different things to different people; it certainly does not mean the same things, for example, to Henry Wallace and Senator Taft, to Eleanor Roosevelt and Westbrook Pegler.

The authors of the article emphasize that in teaching social theory the schools should stress:

(1) the evolving nature of democracy, since flexibility to meet changing conditions is one of its essential values; (2) the importance of being able to separate fact from opinion, and accepted fact from disputed fact; (3) the willingness and ability to examine conflicting points-of-view; (4) the necessity of making a decision on an issue, once it has been studied; and (5) the realization that it may be necessary and proper later to alter that decision on the basis of further information.

NOTES

There is a tendency in human thinking to look in only one direction at a time. A few years ago we were all alert to the dangers of fascistic doctrine in America; today the tocsin sounds to fight communism. There is a danger that the current drive against communism in America will play into the hands of the fascist-minded "nationalists" who shout as loudly as anyone against Marxism but themselves constitute just as true a menace to democracy. There should be no relaxation of vigilance against enemies on either flank. While it is quite true that Henry Wallace's New Republic seldom finds anything that is both anticommunist and newsworthy, it has done a service to democracy in publishing the series of articles by Bruce Bliven on anti-Semitism in the United States, which began in the November 3 issue.

On October 30 the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment, meeting in Geneva, adopted a General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which represents a great step forward in international economic relations. The State Department has published a comprehensive analysis of the details of the agreement which may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents for 50 cents. It is Department of State Publication 2983, Commercial Policy Series 109. The full text of the draft charter for an International Trade Organization, completed at Geneva in August, is printed in the October number of International Conciliation.

A special issue of Labor and Industry in Britain, the monthly review published by the British Information Services at 30 Rockefeller

Plaza, New York City, gives a very fine analysis of the economic situation in Britain. It is a report on Britain's post-war objectives and the measure of success she has so far achieved. In seven authoritative articles, well illustrated with graphs and tables, it provides a careful picture of her social and economic planning, her financial position at home and abroad, her labor situation, nationalization, and foreign trade. Copies may be obtained free of charge from the issuing agency.

A recent addition to the list of periodicals intended for school use is *Asia Calling*. It is published monthly during the school year by the American-Oriental Friendship Association, Inc., 1128 16th Street, Santa Monica, Cal. It represents one phase of the Association's program to foster better understanding between the young children of America and the Orient. A similar magazine, to be called *America Calling*, is to be published in Chinese. The magazine contains stories and articles bringing out mutual interests in music, art, hobbies, crafts, and so forth. The subscription price is \$2.00 a year, or \$1.50 in clubs of ten or more.

MIDDLE STATES COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

World conditions flowing from the war continue to press as heavily upon teachers of so-

cial studies as they do upon citizens in all other walks of life. Out of those conditions have sprung problems for teaching which the Middle States Council has been studying in group conferences since 1943: "History in the High School and Social Studies in the Elementary School" (Proceedings, Vol. 41, 1944), "Significant Curriculum Developments in the Social Studies" (Proceedings, Vol. 42, 1945), "American Leadership in a Disordered World" (Proceedings, Vol. 43, 1946), and "Teaching Local History in Today's World" and "Building Better World Relationships (Proceedings, Vol. 44, Parts I & II, 1947).

In 1947-1948 the Council's program centers on the timely problem of "Teaching Youth the World Responsibilities of Americans." During this winter, local teacher groups in the Middle States area will study ways and means for teaching these responsibilities on all levels from the elementary school to the college. In the spring, in Washington (D.C.), the final conference will bring the results together, for examination, criticism, and evaluation. The account of the year's work will be presented in the 1948 issue (Vol. 45) of the *Proceedings*.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

Edited by Ira Kreider Abington High School, Abington, Pennsylvania

The Record of American Diplomacy. Edited by Ruhl J. Bartlett. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947. Pp. xx, 731. \$6.00.

Teachers of history and international relations, and in fact any serious student of American foreign policy, will be everlastingly grateful to Dr. Bartlett for making available a splendid collection of source materials in a tremendously important field. The Record of American Diplomacy contains excerpts from, or the complete texts of, over 300 documents—treaties, addresses of Presidents and Secretaries of State, State Department dispatches, acts of Congress, newspaper editorials, the declarations issued at the conferences of the "Big Three" during World War II, the Charter of

the United Nations, etc. Obviously this is by no means the whole record, and Dr. Bartlett is aware of the hazards of selection and editing; but virtually all of the major documents are here, and enough of the others to round out the picture of the evolution of the foreign policies of the United States. Every selection has some element of special interest. To criticize the able editor for sins of omission or of selection would be pedantic cavil.

The material is divided into 35 chapters, presented topically within the basically chronological framework, with very brief introductions to each chapter. They range in time from the Treaty of Whitehall of 1686 between England and France, which treaty represented an

unsuccessful attempt to keep America out of foreign troubles, to President Truman's now-famous message of March 12, 1947, which pledged America's support to free peoples everywhere. About half of the book is devoted to the period since the Spanish-American War. The 43 selections and 150 pages in the last three chapters, covering American diplomacy since 1938, are of particular current interest.

Among the longest selections in the book are the arguments for and against the retention of Canada by Great Britain, presented in 1760 and 1762; Jay's proposal to the Confederation Congress in 1786 that the "United States"—the phrase is his-should suspend its assertion of the right of free navigation of the Mississippi in order to make a commercial treaty with Spain: Jefferson's reply to the statement of British grievances against the United States in 1792; the "X.Y.Z." report of 1797; Madison's instructions to Monroe in 1804 regarding American policy with respect to maritime rights; Secretary Olney's famous dispatch of July, 1895, stating the position of the United States in the Venezuelan boundary controversy; articles 1 to 26 of the Covenant of the League of Nations; the major treaties of the Washington Conference of 1921-1922 and a digest of contemporary views on the treaties; two of Cordell Hull's most famous speeches, one delivered in 1938, the other in 1942; the Yalta agreements, including the secret agreements on the Kuriles and on Germany; the Charter of the United Nations (the longest document in the volume); Baruch's address before the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission on June 14, 1946; the Potsdam Declaration; and the "Truman Doctrine."

"It will not be an easy matter," wrote Lord Sheffield in 1783, "to bring the American states to act as a nation." These documents throw much light on the difficulties which the American nation faced in the conduct of foreign relations, and on the great failures and achievements along the way.

As an example of fine book-making, *The Record of American Diplomacy* is a triumph of the publisher's art. One may raise the question, however, of whether a source book of this kind, designed primarily for college students, could not have been published in satisfactory

form at half the price. There are plenty of attractive works which are gathering dust on the bookshelves of American libraries and homes. This book should be read and re-read, for it contains material of great value and significance for Americans today. It is unfortunate that its usefulness will be limited by so high a price.

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Under Their Own Command. By Harold Benjamin. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. Pp. viii, 88. \$1.50.

Mankind, with hope shaken and confidence almost shattered by two world wars, has been living in an atmosphere of insecurity and fear. Despair has had a handmaiden in the melancholy which has been evident in much of the writing on the decline of world civilization. Into this mélange, Dr. Harold Benjamin, a writer of excellent experience and a veteran of both world wars, sends a sharp and courageous counterblast. He does not see mankind as lost, but as progressing toward more civilized and cultured goals. He admonishes that to make this progress, man must exhibit "conscious control of his own education" and "at least go down fighting under his own colors." The Japanese, he says, have paid heavily and dramatically for their errors in educational judgment. It will be interesting to note whether victors or vanguished of the recent holocaust will profit educationally from their experience. How peoples of the world assume the direction of their education is more important than political, military, or economic affiliations or arrangements.

In this message of hope, Dr. Benjamin sets up the educational needs for the world's people. He develops principles for observation, judgment, and determination for progress. "The final significance of a people's education in any area is a matter of how closely results come to attempts, attempts to desires, and desires to needs." The needs are scientific and technological research, education, and training, improvement in the fields of social relationships, understanding of—"values... whereby men learn to order their ways"—the realm

of the spirit, and greater world communication. The scope and power of education must be tremendously increased as a concomitant of the great transition in communication. UNESCO offers the wonderful media through which mankind can achieve the larger vision and openly contest the forces of gloom.

It has been stimulating to read this short book at a time when two great ideologies are in contest for world dominance. It is refreshing to have the optimism of such a scholar as Dr. Harold Benjamin. The reviewer shares this hope for a world of strengthened human and cultural ties among all peoples. The book, *Under Their Own Command*, is a call to intellectual arms to prepare for a better world, inhabited by a more competent mankind, whose faith in the future is unshatterable.

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Battle for the Hemisphere. By Edward Tomlinson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947. Pp. viii, 250. \$3.50.

In five parts, the first three of which describe the enemy and the last two, our allies and defenses, the author sets forth the threat of war in this hemisphere between Communism and Totalitarianism combined against Democracy. He shows the infiltration under the guise of ultra-nationalism, of both totalitarian and communistic ideas into the republics of Latin America. He tells how both of these sinister influences have penetrated many of these republics. He piles incident on incident in order to arouse our fears. He paints a picture in reds and black. There seems to be no hope of escape from the overwhelming tide of Communism and Totalitarianism which is rising to engulf our neighbor republics.

The picture which he has painted is dark indeed. One would think that Mr. Tomlinson had written the first three parts with a view to using them on the lecture platform or before the radio microphone in order to instil dread in his hearers and to arouse them to action. He has evidently written this book to appeal to the masses in the hope that it might become a best seller, not as a dispassionate statement of facts. He has no documentation whatever, no

footnote references to his sources of information, but merely a bare recital of gossip heard at the cafes along Avenida de Mayo or in the anterooms of politicians.

In the last two parts, Mr. Tomlinson is less dramatic and less pessimistic. In fact he sees hope in "The Traditional Resistance to Tyranny" (Chap. XII); in "The Persistence and Progress of Democratic Forms" (Chap. XIII); and in "Democracy Resurgent" (Chap. XIV). Democracy is still fighting in all Latin-American republics against the attacks of Communism and Totalitarianism.

In Part V, the author tells of "United States Responsibility" for leadership in this battle. The last chapter, "The Redemption of Dollar Diplomacy," advocates a constructive program of economic leadership by individual, not governmental, organizations in the United States. Instead of our government furnishing financial support to Latin-American governments which may themselves be dictatorships, he urges that private investors aid the businessmen of the several countries in diversification of their production and industry.

In our new Dollar Diplomacy, as the author calls it, United States investors should help the businessmen, industrialists, and agriculturalists, and not the governments, by supplying funds from this country. Thus, will these loans help the peoples, not the strong men of Latin America. Also, local investors in the several republics should be encouraged to invest in their local industries, taking their share of the profits with the American investors. If we return to the Good Neighbor Policy, we can lead our neighbors back to democracy.

The book contains no bibliography nor footnotes, but is provided with a satisfactory index of eleven pages.

ALFRED HASBROUCK

Rollins College Winter Park, Florida

The United States—Experiment in Democracy.

By Avery Craven and Walter Johnson.

Boston: Ginn and Company, 1947. Illustrated. Pp. xxiv, 886. \$5.00.

Gifted with the ability to tell an interesting story in graceful language, the authors present the history of the United States from its inception to Hiroshima. They subscribe to the concept of the "melting pot" which they define as the process of fusing divergent peoples into a new American race. This principle, originally conceived by a distinguished divine, the Reverend Dr. Samuel Schulman of New York City, was later popularized by Israel Zangwill, who changed the name of his play "The Crucible" to "The Melting Pot."

In the opinion of the authors, the melting pot produced the characteristic American who is vividly described and keenly appreciated. He is still in the making and is only part of the American story. The rest of it deals with the great experiment in democratic government and the effort to create a more democratic social-economic order.

Each chapter lists a selected, brief and well annotated bibliography. The illustrations deserve especial notice, being significant, and closely related to the text. They include reproductions of famous paintings, murals, photographs, pictographs, graphic charts and cartoons. The maps are easily read, clear and uncrowded. The book is equipped with a useful index.

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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The City of Women. By Ruth Landes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. Pp. vi. 248. \$3.00.

We have here the outcome of Miss Landes' research assignment in northeastern Brazil. The material was gathered during an anthropological field trip in 1938 and 1939. This trip was supported by the Council for Research in the Social Sciences of Columbia University and was directed by the Anthropology Department of the same institution. Among those encouraging the study were the late Dr. Franz Boas and Dr. Ruth Benedict of Columbia University, Dr. Robert E. Park of Fisk University, Dr. Margaret Mead of the American Museum of Natural History, and the well-known Mr. Drew Pearson.

Miss Landes evidently regarded the people whom she studied as something more than mere anthropological specimens. Most cheerfully she writes:

Brazil gave me an entirely unexpected realization of the ease with which different races could live together civilly and profitably... This book about Brazil does not discuss race problems there, because there were none. It simply describes the life of Brazilians of the Negro race, a gracious poised people whose charm is proverbial in their own land, and undying in my memory. (p. vi.)

It may be doubted that many of the readers of the volume will receive a similarly favorable impression of the Negro and Negroid population of Bahia. This reviewer, at any rate, prefers Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, Paul Laurence Dunbar, W. E. B. DuBois, and Paul Robeson to any of the personalities delineated by Miss Landes. Even their Christianity is defiled with the black magic of Africa. "Candomblé" is singularly like voodooism. Truly, Miss Landes' conclusions are quite at variance with her descriptions. Here are folk who have never grown up, petulant, uncertain, superstitious, and sexually promiscuous. A very pleasing folk whose most popular social affairs are get-togethers in which women dance to the point of ecstasy, then go into trances! The title of the book implies the dominance of women. Apparently, the women of Bahia are dominant, but to what worthwhile end does this dominance lead? In Bahia the government of Brazil has a rare opportunity for a program of re-education.

Brazil may have no race problem, but she has other problems, some very conspicuous. It is noticeable that few Negroes of the United States emigrate to the huge South American republic.

The City of Women is a remarkable anthropological document. Therein lies its value. One will wonder, however, if all those lengthy conversations were stenographically reported.

J. F. SANTEE

Oregon Teachers College Monmouth, Oregon

Cooperation in General Education. By the Executive Committee of the Cooperative Study in General Education. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1947. Pp. 240. \$3.00.

The final report of the Executive Committee of the Cooperative Study in General Education,

sponsored by the American Council on Education, consists of four volumes, of which this is the first. The other three deal with (1) General Education in the Humanities, (2) General Education in the Social Studies, and (3) Student Personnel Services in General Education. Twenty-two colleges originally cooperated in the study, and with certain additions and withdrawals during the five-year study, the work of 18 colleges is summarized in this report.

It was not the purpose of the Executive Committee to prescribe any set pattern of procedure, but it proceeded with a great deal of local autonomy. All activity in connection with it was explicitly invested in the individual colleges. Each college took exclusive responsibility for improving its own program, and the Study worked with the problems and projects which were of particular concern to groups and individuals in a particular institution. The Study was concerned with securing the participation of the local teaching staffs, and to this end it conducted workshops for faculty members. It set up an inter-college committee with representatives of various colleges in the Study. Regional conferences were held and members of the central staff made visits as consultants. The Study provided for general circulation of materials locally developed, such as syllabi and textbooks, and made generally available such things as forms locally developed, and local studies, and provided a test scoring service.

The first chapter is a good summary of the factors—social, economic, and individual—influencing the development of general education. Another chapter deals with the issues which have arisen in the consideration of general education. One deals with the philosophy underlying the Study; one outlines individual projects in the colleges; and three chapters deal with the major projects classified as dealing with (1) the humanities, (2) the sciences, and (3) student personnel.

The characteristics of the general education movement are grouped under five heads:

(1) During the latter part of the nineteenth century there was a great expansion of the offerings of colleges, and specialization was emphasized at the sacrifice of breadth and coherence in the program of the individual student. General education is a reaction against this trend.

- (2) General education seeks to obtain a more adequate integration of subject matter in related fields through survey courses and other types of general courses.
- (3) General education has brought about a great restriction in the free election system, and in the major-minor plan or organization, which still left much free choice to the student; and they have been largely supplanted by a system of prescriptions. College graduates in America have in the past not possessed any considerable common body of knowledge, a common set of ideals, or a common outlook on life. This has resulted in an unintegrated civic and moral leadership and an inability on the part of our generation to discuss understandingly its common problems. General education recommends the teaching of a common body of ideas, skills, and attitudes which all who leave our high schools and colleges should possess.
- (4) Proponents of general education do believe that students should be taught to think. But they also believe that training in the various methodologies of thought is essential if our people are to come to grips with the perplexing and complex problems of our age. They would give a large place to what Dr. Hutchins would call the "intellectual virtues." but they hold that mere intelligence is not enough. They have a concern for moral. aesthetic, and emotional development also. The individual must be able to integrate the various activities of life into a meaningful pattern, and to develop a set of high moral standards by which to govern his own conduct and by which to appraise the conduct of his fellows. And general education seeks a much larger place in education for the fine arts.
- (5) General education is much concerned with the everyday activities of human beings. This is a reaction against abstract, systematic instruction which often has little practical meaning for the student. It seeks to begin college instruction at the level of the student's former knowledge, interests, and ultimate objectives, on the theory that education is more effective when it begins with the known and proceeds to the unknown.

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This volume serves as a good handbook of the background of the general education movement and of its underlying philosophy, and of the progress that has been made in formulating a new program for the first two college years—the thirteenth and fourteenth of the student's school life.

Most college graduates of middle age who, like the reviewer, grew up under the free, or modified free election system, will probably accept as valid the criticisms of this book and look with sympathy upon efforts being made in the way of reform. For the most part they left college with little in the way of a settled philosophy of life, few intelligent convictions held deeply, with little help in meeting the everyday problems of life, and little appreciation of the aesthetic. We emerged with smatterings of knowledge and wide gaps of ignorance. Courses were taught by specialists whose purpose often seemed to be to develop more specialists. Left to ourselves to choose from wide offerings, we did not have the necessary knowledge to choose wisely nor to choose in a consistent pattern. For those who have felt concern over the inadequacies of college education in the past and want to know what a group of colleges have been doing about it, under a planned cooperative attack upon the problem, and for those who wish for the guidance of the experience of others in their own attack upon the problem. this report should be of great value.

The progress already made to better the situation seems to be encouraging, and the experiment reported in this book and others of like nature ought to result in a lasting benefit to present and future generations of college students and through them to society as a whole.

ARTHUR DONDINEAU

Superintendent, Public Schools Detroit, Michigan

The Farmer in the Second World War. By Walter W. Wilcox. Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State College Press, 1947. Pp. xii, 410. \$3.30.

There is no prospect of a dearth of information concerning the role of American farmers in World War II. Studies are being prepared by the United States Department of Agricul-

ture covering various phases of the federal government's wartime agricultural activities. Many of these studies already have been completed and published. A large number of articles dealing with special contributions of farmers to the war effort have appeared in newspapers and magazines. However, there has been a need for a general study of agricultural conditions and achievements during the war. Professor Walter W. Wilcox of the University of Wisconsin has made a notable effort to fulfill this need. Although his work is essentially a study in agricultural economics, it is an important contribution to the literature of the social and economic history of World War II. Professor Wilcox's research for the writing of The Farmer in the Second World War was sponsored by the Committee on War Studies of the Social Science Research Council and approved by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture and the University of Wisconsin. The findings in his study are based upon various types of government records, including Congressional committee hearings, statistical reports, memoranda, and correspondence. Important supplementary information was obtained from newspapers and agricultural periodicals. Personal interviews with government officials and the author's experience as an official in the government's wartime agricultural program gave additional understanding of the subject.

On the eve of the second World War the problems that concerned American farmers most were low prices, accumulating surpluses, excess farm population, soil erosion, and substandard living conditions. Aroused public interest in these problems had resulted in the organization of a series of governmental "action programs" conducted by such agencies as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Farm Credit Administration, Farm Security Administration, Commodity Credit Corporation, Soil Conservation Service, and Surplus Marketing Administration. The war necessitated shifting emphasis from programs designed to help farmers in a period of inadequate job opportunities and market demand to programs organized to overcome war-created scarcities. Professor Wilcox shows that this shift was accomplished successfully, but not without occasional evidences of "surplus fear" psychology in administrative decisions.

American farmers can take pride or comfort in several developments of the war. To begin with, their record of production was phenomenal. With ten per cent fewer workers on farms, they produced 50 per cent more food annually than in World War I. They profited from increased prices for agricultural commodities, improved methods of marketing farm products, expansion of facilities in food-processing industries, and discovery of new methods to combat diseases and pests. In discussing price and related policies that benefited farmers, Professor Wilcox gives an explanation of the "parity concept" in simple terms which should be especially helpful to general readers.

This study also shows how the war brought or accelerated reverses in some phases of agriculture and left unsettled some of its most vexing prewar problems. Enlistments in the armed services and the attraction of high wages in war industries contributed to excessive drains on the farm labor supply. Increased demands were made on the nation's dwindling timber resources. The national government's program for improved methods of land use encountered more opposition. There was a serious decline in rural health and educational facilities. At the close of the war there still remained the great task of bringing farm incomes and services up to urban standards. Professor Wilcox's study concludes with the belief that experiences gained in the immediate prewar and war years will point the way to solutions of some of agriculture's most pressing problems.

HAROLD T. PINKETT

National Archives Washington, D. C.

History of the Pennsylvania State College. By Wayland Fuller Dunaway. Lancaster, Pa.: Lancaster Press, Inc., 1946. Pp. 540. Bib. Illus. Ind. \$3.50.

Histories of American colleges are becoming an increasingly satisfying part of historical scholarship and of the total record of national culture. It is natural that this should be the case since college histories are usually written by men of sound learning, ripe in years and wisdom, skilled in the use of the written word.

and personally a part of the scene they portray. While it is true that the distribution of any work of this type is not likely to go far beyond the alumni, faculty, officials, and friends of the institution concerned, it is equally true that these will nowhere find a more fruitful reminiscence of bygone days, nor a more convincing statement of human achievement in which they have had a personal share.

The Pennsylvania State College is not old as age is reckoned among the colleges of this nation. It has still to observe its one hundredth birthday. But it is old enough to have experienced most of the stages common to collegiate history: the long period of gestation; the enthusiastic launching of the college; the period of incredible hardship and neglect; the period of public ridicule; the period of test; the period of slow growth based on solid achievement; and the period of acknowledged worth and rapid expansion. Through all these stages loom the figures of great men who have held the helm steady through fair weather and foul: men of action like Evan Pugh, who could teach chemistry, milk a cow, or challenge a legislature, as occasion required: men of faith like Thomas Burrowes, who, with discouragement at every hand, could inspire confidence in all who worked about him; men of courage like George Washington Atherton, who dared to tread new paths; men of vision like Edwin Earle Sparks and Ralph Dorn Hetzel, who, once understanding the task to be done, threw themselves into it with unswerving purpose.

Running through the story of administrative struggles, reflected in the lives of successive presidents of the college, is the happier frame of routine college life—the student pranks, the intimate traditions of the campus, the work of the classroom, the rows in faculty meeting, the great "events" so dear to the hearts of alumni. One can scarcely refrain from mentioning "Parker's Boat"—the name given to the Bellefonte Central Railroad the day after it got stranded in a flood with a full cargo of students aboard.

Dr. Dunaway's history of the Pennsylvania State College is a factual, well-written book which should be highly entertaining (and occasionally poignant) reading for those associated with the college, and which will prove to 7.

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72 Fifth Ave. NEWSON & COMPANY New York 11, N. Y.

be an illuminating story for all who take interest in the field of public education in America. The first half of the volume is a chronological narrative of the development of the institution from its beginning in 1855 as the "Farmers' High School of Pennsylvania" until the advent of the late Ralph Dorn Hetzel as president in 1926. The latter half is a topical description of the college since that time. The tremendous growth of the institution under Dr. Hetzel's outstanding administration more than justifies the space allotted to the latter years. Dr. Dunaway has served the Pennsylvania State College ably for many years as a member of its Department of History, but he has never done a better or more gratifying service than in the preparation of this volume.

PHILIP S. KLEIN

Pennsylvania State College State College, Pennsylvania

Governments and Politics Abroad. Edited by Joseph S. Roucek. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1947. Pp. xi, 585. \$5.00.

Government and Politics Abroad is a college textbook on comparative government. This reviewer feels somewhat handicapped by the fact that he never took such a course in college, and hence, he has had difficulty in setting up accurate standards by which to judge such a text. A reasonably wide knowledge of Europe, however, based on extensive travel and considerable study of current developments there since 1930, have given him the temerity to undertake such a judgment.

The advantage of this text would seem to lie chiefly in its timeliness. It carries as background the necessary historical development of the countries it deals with right up to March, 1947. As such, it is an up-to-date contribution to the study of comparative government. This book is packed with factual detail which makes it an excellent reference book on political, social, and even economic conditions in Europe. The fact that each chapter is written by some specialist in the field ensures the accuracy of this detail.

The disadvantage of this text is that it is almost too crowded with detail. A closer in-

tegration between chapters, on the basis of underlying philosophies of life and government common to several countries, would make it somewhat easier to read and to remember. The editor says that China and Japan have been omitted because their patterns of government have not yet become fully clear. This reviewer, perhaps unduly impressed with the importance of China in the world political scene, feels that this is a definite gap. The pattern of government for Nationalist China is at least reasonably clear. As for Communist China, does it not also pay at least lip service to Dr. Sun Yat Sen's basic principles, with the exception that it claims to emphasize the principle of social justice more than does Nationalist China? In any case, the whole world is in a state of flux, and the pattern of government is really clear for only the very few stable countries. such as the United States. This reviewer feels also that the introduction of a section on Latin America, instructive as it is, to a certain extent detracts from the unity of the book.

There are several points of considerable interest for the layman. It is perhaps trite, but nevertheless significant, to note, as one reads this book, how Soviet imperialism has tended to spread over the backward areas of Europe only. The moral for Americans is that to fight Communism we must initiate broad programs of educational and economic reform. Our complacency about our democratic way of life is shaken when it is pointed out that dictators may be popular persons. The reader also has brought home to him the dangers to democracy of a multi-party system. The most stable democracies are those in which two political parties only are dominant. Yet another danger to democracy, brought out by this book, is that of basing the political struggle on personalities and/or economic classes rather than on broad general principles. Finally, the success of Swedish cooperative capitalism is driven home as a possible means of combatting Communism and of preserving Democracy. It is on the basis of these various points of interest that Governments and Politics Abroad is well worth reading by the layman as well as by the student of comparative government.

WILFRED T. GRENFELL

St. James School St. James, Maryland

PERTINENT PAMPHLETS

Edited by R. T. Solis-Cohen Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

World Minority Problems. By James G. Leyburn. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 132. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1947. Illustrated. Pp. 32. 20 cents.

Dr. James G. Leyburn, Professor of Sociology at Yale University, the author of this pamphlet, believes that the United Nations should combat racial and religious injustice by marshaling world opinion and by the incorporation of a Bill of Rights of the People of the World. The latter would focus attention upon civilized standards of behavior and make it possible to criticize lapses from that standard in any member nation.

As an objective, the author advocates toleration of, and actual respect for, differences. Toward this goal the progressive stages are from active persecution to discrimination, from discrimination to disesteem, and from disesteem to acceptance. In the United States evidence of progress toward toleration is shown by a definitely increasing awareness of our minority problems, of the gap between our theory and our practice, and of what the nation is losing by discrimination.

That the author is an independent and original thinker is shown throughout the pamphlet. His definition and explanation of the term "minority" are especially well thought out and aptly phrased:

A minority is not simply a group that is smaller than some other group. If it were, the white people in the world would be a minority and constitute a problem. So would the Episcopalians in this country, or the Republicans in the South. Not even the denial of equal rights to a group makes a minority. If it did, women and children would then be minority problems. The term is applied only to members of a group who have either recognizable physical characteristics or recognizable cultural characteristics to set them apart from the dominant group. In addition to racial minorities, there are "ethnic" minorities, who often have a different language, religion, tradition, and set of customs from the dominant group.

Even when a minority is recognized, it does not constitute a problem unless: (a) the

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dominant group has a stereotyped opinion about such people, and (b) refuses to treat them as "we" treat people in "our" group, thus (c) arousing on the part of the minority a feeling of discrimination, causing them (d) to have a grudge against the dominant group, or (e) strengthening their desire to remain a separate people.

One World in School. By Louella Miles. Montgomery, Alabama: The American Teachers Association, 1946. Pp. 58. 35 cents.

One World in School is a handbook containing an annotated bibliography designed to combat prejudice. Originally released in July, 1946, this publication was distributed only to the members of the Association. However, in 1947, the second printing was released for public consumption. The material in this excellent little publication is splendidly organized, being more closely knit than many similar contributions in the same field. The objectivity and good taste of its presentation are especially commendable. Noticeably absent are sentimentality, and pleading and patronizing attitudes.

Our Negro Veterans. By Charles G. Bolté and Louis Harris. Pamphlet No. 128. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1947. Illustrated. Pp. 31. 20 cents.

Negro veterans of World War II are faced with all the problems of other veterans on an intensified scale. They desperately need jobs, housing and satisfactory educational and onthe-job training opportunities. Because of their color they have been victims of cruel and unjust discrimination. This has been demonstrated in a series of surveys made by the Bureau of the Census, the National Urban League, the Southern Regional Council, and the American Veterans Committee.

Federal laws give blanket benefits to all veterans. But the administration of the laws has prevented the Negroes from obtaining the advantages which are theirs under the law. Consistently, as though the legislation were earmarked "For White Veterans Only," federal agencies, particularly in the South, have discriminated against Negroes. The pamphlet lists the major obstacles blocking full service by

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from d, it) the federal agencies to Negro veterans. Recognition of these problems should be the first step in their solution.

The Laws of Marriage and Divorce in all 48 States. By Richard V. Mackay. New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1947. Pp. 74. \$1.00.

This digest, written in non-technical language, provides the reader with a convenient, concise outline of the various state laws governing marriage and divorce. It also presents a complete summary of the marriage license requirements of the several states and shows the differences existing in the laws regarding divorce, annulment and separation. Just as a sick person should not attempt to doctor himself but promptly consult a physician, so a person with a legal problem should immediately consult his attorney. This book is not a substitute for an attorney's advice, but it informs the reader of his legal rights and responsibilities. It contains a glossary and charts. It is the first number of the Legal Almanac Series, which will present the law on various subjects to the layman.

Keeping Up with Teen-Agers. By Evelyn Millis Duvall. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 127. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1947. Illustrated. Pp. 31. 20 cents.

The gap between teen-agers and their elders is increasing because of the effects of rapidly changing times and of urbanization on moral standards. Each generation can lessen the distance from the other if members of one regard those of the other as individuals, and study adjustment by means of books, classes, discussion groups and counselling services.

100 Selected Books. Superintendent of Documents. Washington, D.C.: Government Print-

ing Office. Pp. 46. Free.

Publications are classified under general headings such as "History and Political Science," "Business," "Law," "Health," etc. Each publication is briefly described and its price and catalog number noted for the purchaser's convenience.

The Struggle for Atomic Control. By William T. Fox. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 129. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1947. Illustrated. Pp. 32. 20 cents.

In the opinion of the author, Article 51 of the United Nations Charter provides a basis for

possible compromise on an atomic energy control plan which by-passes the veto problem. In addition to listing some of the problems involved, this pamphlet gives a clear, factual history of the negotiations which have occurred thus far. The author's analysis does not present another plan for atomic energy control but rather attempts to show that a way can be found for agreement if the will exists on both sides.

A Selected and Annotated Bibliography in Aviation Education for Guidance Counselors. Washington 25, D.C.; U.S. Civil Aeronautics Administration, Office of Aviation Training, Commerce Building, November, 1946. Pp. 10. Mimeographed.

This bibliography lists government documents and non-government publications. The former provide basic information concerning trends on aviation employment, rules and regulations governing certification, and approved schools for training mechanics and flyers.

The non-government items describe the qualifications set by both industry and government for the many jobs in aviation. They also describe the work and avenues for advancement, estimate the salaries, and suggest specific preparatory courses in the various high school and college subjects. Three lists of radio schools have been given, as there is no federal government certification of schools in radio.

A Selected and Annotated Bibliography on the Social, Political, Economic, and International Aspects of Aviation. Washington 25 D. C.: U. S. Civil Aeronautics Administration, Office of Aviation Training, Commerce Building. December, 1946. Pp. 65. Mimeographed.

This pamphlet provides a broad sampling of recently published materials touching upon the various social implications of aviation, such as domestic air transport, international aviation, government and aviation, history of aviation, and war, peace, and preparedness. The materials are arranged according to different grade levels.

A Selected and Annotated Bibliography of Recent Air Age Education Textbooks. (Also includes standard texts that incorporate such materials.) Washington 25, D. C.: U. S. Civil Aeronautics Administra. 1

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tion, Office of Aviation Training, Commerce Building, February, 1946. Pp. 39.

The scope of this bibliography includes the publications dealing with aviation suitable for grades 1-12, in the general subject matter areas of language arts, social studies, science, industrial arts, mathematics, and aviation.

A Selected and Annotated Bibliography on the Professional Aspects of Aviation Education. Washington 25, D.C.: U.S. Civil Aeronautics Administration, Office of Aviation Training, Commerce Building. February 1946. Pp. 40.

Written for the educator rather than for the elementary or secondary school pupil or the aviation specialist, this annotated list includes recent materials concerning the objectives, scope, curricula and methods of aviation education.

U. S. Civil Aeronautics Administration, The Library. Aeronautical Periodicals. Washington 25, D. C.: U. S. Civil Aeronautics Administration, Commerce Building, November 1946. Pp. 7. Mimeographed.

Arranged according to national and international headings, this bibliography concludes with a list of digests and indexes.

America's Stake in World Trade. By Gloria Waldron and Norman S. Buchanan. Public Affairs Information Pamphlet No. 130. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1947. Pp. 32. 20 cents.

American industry has a strong competitive position in the world market today. Few countries besides the United States can supply manufactured goods to the world market. If trade is to be increased substantially, a flow of foreign investment from more advanced countries to aid the development of more backward areas is essential.

To protect domestic industries while expanding foreign trade, the authors recommend an orderly, gradual series of tariff reductions, together with a protective policy that does not curtail imports. Instead of imposing tariffs, governments should help directly those who are injured by foreign competition by such measures as guiding new workers away from shrinking industries, providing restraining facilities for those engaged in declining industries, and tem-

porarily guaranteeing incomes during a shift in occupations.

The next three steps are rehabilitation of the devastated countries, keeping employment high at home and in other countries, and changing our attitude toward imports.

To avoid possible conflicts between national full employment policies and policies to promote international trade, the authors suggest a coordination of national full employment policies through the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. They sum up as the advantages of a multilateral trading system: It will (1) permit us to maintain a free economy, (2) reduce international friction, and (3) contribute to higher and more varied standards of consumption.

Why Is There a Teacher Shortage? Vol. I, "What Do You Say" Series. Upper Montclair, New Jersey: New Tools for Learning Bureau, New Jersey State Teachers College, 1947. Illustrated. Pp. 36. 45 cents. Quantity prices on request.

The much publicized teacher shortage is most acute in California, Nebraska, Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi and Alabama. Except in the first three states, where shifting populations have affected the situation, the states which lack teachers are also the states in which salaries are low. In all of these latter states, 40 per cent or more of the teachers are paid less than \$1,200 a year. The teacher shortage is an economic problem.

A Bibliography on Field Studies in Schools and Colleges Revised to January 1, 1947. Upper Montclair, New Jersey: Bureau of Field Studies, New Jersey College for Teachers, 1947. Pp. 27. 25 cents.

Comprehensive and thorough, this bibliography lists publications—books as well as periodicals—dealing with the school journey. It covers elementary through college levels and academic as well as industrial subject fields, both in the United States and abroad.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The Pageant of Japanese History. By Marion May Dilts. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1947. Pp. xvi, 418. Illustrated. \$4.00.

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A new edition of an easy and readable history of Japan.

Fundamental Education: Common Ground for All Peoples. By a Special Committee to the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris, 1946. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. Pp. 325. \$2.50.

Educational leaders throughout the world collaborate in a study of the problem of teaching more than half of the world's population how to read and write.

Decentralize for Liberty. By Thomas Hewes. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1947. Pp. 238. \$3.00.

A second edition of a book that makes a plea for economic democracy.

Farming in America. By Harold S. Sloan. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. Pp. ix, 242. \$1.60.

A companion book of Industry in America and Labor in America.

Applied Economics: The Application of Economic Principles to the Problems of Economic Control. By Raymond T. Bye and William W. Hewett. Fourth Edition. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1947. Pp. viii, 718. \$4.00.

Revised edition of a college textbook.

Mamillon Hamaasi: Practical Hebrew-English Dictionary. By Menahem G. Glenn. New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1947. Pp. 564. \$3.50.

For use in school and home.

Intercultural Attitudes in the Making. Edited by William Heard Kilpatrick and William Van Til. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. Pp. ix, 246. \$3.00.

This Ninth *Yearbook* of the John Dewey Society gives evidence, drawn from the working experience of teachers and social workers, of how to meet the problem of racial and religious prejudice.

Unseen Harvests: A Treasury of Teaching. Edited by Claude M. Fuess and Emory S. Basford. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. Pp. xx, 678. \$5.00.

An anthology of stories, poems, and opinions centering in the profession of the *teacher*.

The Art of the Map-Maker in Essex, 1566-1860. By the Essex County Council. Chelmsford, England: Essex Record Office, 1947. Pp. xv; Plates, XXX. Illustrated. Five shillings.

A "popular" unabridged version of the detailed Catalogue of Maps in the Essex Record Office at Chelmsford, England.

Industrial Mobilization for War: History of the War Production Board and Predecessor Agencies, 1940-1945. Edited by Phillips D. Carleton. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. Pp. 1010.

An objective analysis of our industrial mobilization experience during World War II.

The Story of American Railroads. By Stewart H. Holbrook. New York: Crown Publishers, 1947. Pp. x, 468. \$4.50.

An up-to-date history of American railroads with illustrations.

How to Interpret Social Welfare: A Study Course in Public Relations. By Helen Cody Baker and Mary Swain Routzahn. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947. Pp. 135. \$2.50.

A basic study course in public relations, written for professional and volunteer social workers who speak to audiences and write letters and bulletins about health and welfare services.

So You Want to Help People? A Mental Hygiene Primer for Group Leaders. By Rudolph M. Wittenberg. New York: Association Press, 1947. Pp. 174. \$3.00.

The application of the principles of modern psychology to the personality problems met by group leaders.

Readings in Social Psychology. Prepared for the Committee on the Teaching of Social Psychology of The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947. Pp. xiv. 672. \$3.85.

Supplementary readings for college courses.

American Overtures: Jewish Rights in Colonial
Times. By Abram Vossen Goodman. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society
of America, 1947. Pp. xiv, 265. \$3.00.

A study of the development of religious liberty for American Jews before the Revolution.